

U. S. Department of Justice

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100-HQ-159214

SERIALS 1

SECTION 1

100-HQ-159214-1

FEDERAL BUREAU

of

INVESTIGATION

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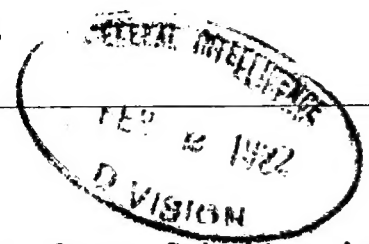
FOIPA # 375,687

USE CARE IN HANDLING THIS FILE

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SECTION 1  
SERIALS X-31

REPORT MADE AT: Kansas City, Mo.	DATE WHEN MADE: Jan. 30, '22.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Jan. 29, '22.	REPORT MADE BY: Donald E. Long.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: JAMES P. CANNON (National Chairman)			
THE WORKER'S PARTY.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Kansas City, Missouri.			
<p>By direction of Agent in Charge, Oscar Schmitz, Agent on January 29, 1922, attended a meeting at 207 East 14th Street, Mercantile Hall, Kansas City, Missouri, where JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman of "THE WORKER'S PARTY" addressed an audience of about three hundred.</p> <p>CANNON stated that "THE WORKER'S PARTY" was organized in New York City last month when 148 delegates from the different organizations throughout the United States assembled; that its purpose was to unite the radical elements in the United States into one great party; that they must work from within the trade Union and that when they have power and strength they will strike as they struck in Russia.</p> <p>CANNON praised the Soviet Government of Russia and gave his audience to understand that it was only through the greatest sacrifice that they can do what the Communists did in Russia.</p> <p>GOMPERS and JOHN L. LEWIS were severely condemned and referred to as but the messenger boys of the Capitalist. CANNON devoted much time to the old cry of the Capitalist against the working man, and declared that "Communism" was their only alternative, else the destruction of civilization.</p> <p>The audience was about 25 per cent enthusiasts.</p>			
<p>Read by FEB 2 - 1922</p> <p>Wm. J. Burns</p> <p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 2 copies New York</p>			



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 DATE 11-10-80 BY SP-1 JML/CH

FEB 1922  
 100-9214-X  
 [Handwritten signature/initials]

Donald E. Long.

January 30, 1922.

Page 2.

Meetings of "The Worker's Party" are to be held in this hall the first and third Sundays of every month.

"The Workers Party of America" have their literature Department at Room 405-80 East 11th Street, New York City, N.Y.

CANNON did not indicate where he would go when he left Kansas City.

OPEN.

DEL:K

~~JAMES P. CANNON, or SE~~  
~~JOSEPH P. CANNON.~~  
 (alias Cook)

100-159214

61-682

Cannon is an American, understood to have been born in Kansas, of English-Irish descent. He is stated to have been a member of the I.W.W. as well as of the Communist Labor Party.

In 1919, during the coal strike, a radical paper under the name of "The Workers' World" was published in Kansas City, Missouri, subject being the editor, and because of the articles in this paper, he was indicted for conspiracy to obstruct the production of bituminous coal. Later a demurrer to this indictment was sustained.

Subject was a delegate to the Convention in Chicago in 1920, where the Communist Labor Party and Communist Party combined, forming the United Communist Party. He was reported to have been a member of the Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party, and to be an associate editor of "The Toiler". He was district organizer at St. Louis for the United Communist Party of America.

Following subject's attendance at the Chicago Convention, he made his report, from which the following is quoted:

Appeal # 90-2426

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 MAC/PS

REAR 4, 1976 SP-6 ACK/H

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153 JUL 6 1960



"In regard to mass action, there can be no question as to whether the Communist Party is a legal organization or an illegal organization, because we advocate the overthrow of the Government through armed uprising; and therefore we have to continue to stay an underground organization until we wring the power from the capitalist class".

Cannon has been reported as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia, also to be a member of the Advisory Committee of the American-Russian Federated Relief Committee. Subject was a member of the sub-committee on Program, Manifesto and Resolutions, at the Convention in New York City in December 1921, at which the Workers' Party was formed.

Cannon is listed in the "Uj Elore" as President of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party, and is elsewhere reported under the title of National Chairman of the Workers' Party.

Subject left the United States on May 10, 1922 as a passenger on the S. S. "Latvia" en route to Russia. The Party name of this subject is "Cook". This is interesting in view of the fact that in June 1922, one Cook took part as a representative for North America in the preliminary meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International at Moscow, and was also elected to the International Commission to make preparations for the Fourth Congress of the

Communist International, to take place in November, 1922.

After a stay of a number of months in Russia, Cannon has returned to the United States and is now making a tour of this country as a speaker for the Workers' Party. The subject of his speeches is "The Truth about the Russia of 1922 as he saw it". Cannon's Speeches deal particularly with economic conditions in Russia and the Trade Union movement there, he claiming that the Unions are in reality the very backbone of Russia today; that they have the protection of the Soviet Government at all times and are much more effective in Russia than they are in the United States.

Early in 1922, subject was reported to be a representative in this country of the Red Trade Union International.

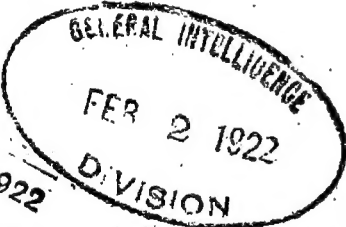

In "The Worker" for February 17, 1923 (official organ of the Workers' Party) Cannon is reported as saying:

"The Soviet Government will not build industry upon the misery of the workers, or permit foreign capital to do so".

In Cannon's speeches during his present tour he is reported to have confined himself to a discussion of conditions in Russia, without speaking upon the situation in the United States.

It may be of interest that Cannon is reported to be a graduate of Kansas University and to have been admitted to the bar, although never practicing.

In a report from our Cleveland, Ohio office, dated April 24th, 1923, it is stated that Cannon, as Chairman of the Workers' Party of America, addressed an open meeting on April 23rd, 1923, at Cleveland, in which he represented that he was delivering a personal message from the Fourth International Congress at Moscow, which was held in the summer of 1922. He detailed the developments of the Communist Party in France, Germany, Italy, Norway, and Czecho-Slovakia, explaining why it is necessary to have centralized control from Moscow, and so forth. He also impressed upon the delegates from America that the Central Executive Committee should control the policies of the Workers' Party of America as well as other Communist Parties of the world. There was circulated at this meeting a booklet entitled "Burns' and Daugherty's Attack upon Labor and Liberty", published by the Labor Defense Council, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.

REPORT MADE AT: Kansas City, Mo.	DATE WHEN MADE: Jan. 30, '22.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Jan. 30, '22.	REPORT MADE BY: Oscar Schmitz
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: U. S. vs. JAMES P. CANNON and CHARLES BAKER :Violation Section 37, :Penal Code.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Kansas City, Missouri.			
<p>Reference is made to previous reports in this connection. Both CANNON and BAKER were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at Kansas City, Missouri, during the nation wide Coal Strike, being charged with <u>radical activities</u> from Kansas City, Missouri, into the coal fields at Pittsburg, Kansas.</p> <p>On the 23rd inst. a demurrer to the indictment in this case was sustained and CANNON and BAKER released.</p> <p>JAMES P. CANNON is now Chairman of the WORKERS PARTY and in the past his activities have been in the East. He made a speech at 207 E. 14th Street, Kansas City, Missouri, on the 29th inst. -this meeting being covered by an Agent of this office. (See Agent Donald E. Long's report in re:JAMES P. CANNON, (National Chairman) THE WORKER'S PARTY, made Jan. 30, 1922, in this connection.</p> <p>Closed at Kansas City.</p>			
OS-c			
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> Read by FEB 2-1922 Wm. J. Burns. </div> <div style="float: right; text-align: center;">   FEB 6 1922  100-159911-X  61-682-2 </div>			
<div style="float: right; text-align: center;"> RECORDED   </div> <div style="clear: both;"></div>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:  2 copies New York		

(N. Y. File No. R-172-E)

Instructions from Special Agent in Charge Edward J. Brennan.

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 5/25/22	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 5/25/22	REPORT MADE BY: Joseph G. Tucker.
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## TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: ONE COOK AND ONE DIXON - COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.

## FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York:

Based upon Bureau letter noted below, attached to which was a copy of a letter from A. Losovsky, President of the Red International Labor Unions, addressed to "Comrades Cook and Dixon," I today got in touch with [REDACTED].

He informed me that Dixon is unknown to him, but that he would make guarded inquiries concerning this man's identity and report at the earliest opportunity. From records at hand in this office and information received from [REDACTED], it would appear that the man known as "Cook" is identical with James P. Cannon who has been active in radical labor circles for a number of years and has more recently been connected with the Communistic movement in this country. Cannon is presumably en route to Russia at this time, having sailed as a passenger on the S. S. "Latvia," May 10th, ostensibly as a member of a unit of the Kuzbas Colony which sailed on that date. As Cannon is supposed to return to this country within a few months, it is an open question whether or not he has gone to Russia in the interests of the Kuzbas movement or the Communist Party, although it seems much more likely that his trip is in the interests of the Party.

Any information regarding his future activities which may be reported to the Party in this country will, no doubt, be learned by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and reported to this office.

## REFERENCE:

GFR-5/24/22-61-1733-1/

## COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO

Washington (3) New York

JGT:FJK

7-100

453G

GFR. JR.

JUL 25 1922

July 21, 1922.

100-159214-X2

Mr. Hliss Horton,  
Federal Bldg.,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

~~Handwritten  
Noted  
See File  
Form 4774~~

Reference is made to my communication of May 24th and your reply of June 7th concerning one COOK and one DIXON.

According to information just received from State Department, J. P. CANNON has been mentioned in data received from Ottawa, Canada, as "field director" of the Labour Film Service. He is also reported to be the editor of the "Boiler."

According to the State Department, an intercepted letter from Moscow to a Canadian Revolutionist suggested that Cannon represents the Red International of Labour Unions in the United States, but Charles E. Scott, in several letters, one of them of recent date, mentioned one Joseph Dixon as holding this position.

It is therefore desired that you make every possible effort to secure information upon the aliases used by Cannon, and particularly whether or not he and Dixon are identical.

It is therefore desired that you make every possible effort to secure information upon the aliases used by Cannon, and particularly whether or not he and Dixon are identical.

Yours very truly,



Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/20/94 BY SP-6 AG/KH

C

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45-31

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

JUL 17 1922

DIVISION

In reply refer to  
U2

July 13, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Information has recently been received from Ottawa to the effect that one J. P. Cannon has been mentioned as "field director" of the Labour Film Service. He has also been reported to be the editor of the "Toiler."

An intercepted letter from Moscow to a Canadian revolutionist suggests that Cannon represents the Red International of Labour Unions in the United States.

But Charles E. Scott in several letters, one of them of recent date, mentions one Joseph Dixon as holding the last named position.

I should appreciate your advising me whether Cannon and Dixon are identical.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/20/96 BY SP-6 ACJ/LL

William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice.

JUL 25 1922

100-159314-X3

61-682

RECORDED

Read by

JUL 14 1922

Wm. J. Burns.



453J

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

## JOURNAL MEMORANDUM

Date July 14, 1923 Office Butte, Montana.

## TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

JAMES P. CANNON - Lecturer

: Workers Party of America

Origin of Case Agent D.H. Dickason, Butte, Mont.

Date 7-2-23Local Office No. 24Bureau No. 61-682Other Office No. 4948Assigned to Special Agent D. H. DickasonDate 7-9-23

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## STATUS OF CASE

Referred to U. S. Attorney \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. Comm. Warrants Issued \_\_\_\_\_

(Name of commissioner.)

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Preliminary Hearing \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Continued Hearings \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Presented to Grand Jury \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Indictment Returned \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Arraignment and Plea \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Set for Trial \_\_\_\_\_

(Name of judge, court, and place.)

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Court Verdict \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: Concluded 7-14-23

NOTE.—This form is to be filled in by typewriter or ink.

7-1256

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DOC... FILED  
100-159214

61-682



GFR-JR.  
61-692.

July 21, 1922.

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2/20/96 SP-606/CA

~~Not for Distribution  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification  
SAC for Serial  
61-692~~

Mr. E. J. Brennan,  
Box 241, City Hall Station,  
New York.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of  
May 24th concerning one COOK and one DIXON.

According to information just received from  
the State Department, J. P. CANNON has been mentioned in data  
received from Ottawa, Canada, as "field director" of the  
Labour Film Service. He is also reported to be the editor  
of the FOILER.

According to the State Department, an intercepted  
letter from Moscow to a Canadian revolutionist suggested  
that Cannon represents the Red International of Labor Unions  
in the United States, but Charles J. Scott, in several letters,  
one of them of recent date, mentioned one Joseph Dixon as  
holding this position.

It is therefore desired that you make every  
possible effort to secure further information upon the aliases  
used by Cannon, and particularly whether or not he and Dixon  
are identical.

Yours very truly,

*[Signature]*  
Director.

100-157214-X4 61-692-2

61-682.

~~NOTED FOR REVIEW  
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NOTED FOR REVIEW  
NOTED FOR REVIEW~~

Dear Sir -

According to information just received from the State Department, J.P. CANNON has been mentioned in data received from Ottawa, Canada, as "field director" of the Labour Film Service. He is also reported to be the editor of the "Toiler."

According to the State Department, an intercepted letter from Moscow to a Canadian revolutionist suggested that Cannon represents the Red International of Labour Unions in the United States, but Charles E. Scott, in several letters, one of them of recent date, mentioned one Joseph Dixon as holding this position.

It is therefore desired that you make every possible effort to secure further information upon the aliases used by Gannan, and particularly whether or not he and Dixon are identical.

Yours very truly,

Herein UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/00/96 BY SP-6 BGC/k

*W. H. [Signature]*  
Director.

100-159214-X5 ~~61-68~~

RECORDED

GFR. JR.  
61-582.

July 21, 1922.

Mr. W.L. Hurley,  
State Department,  
Washington.

Dear Mr. Hurley -

With reference to your communication of the 18th instant requesting information as to whether or not CANNON and DIXON are identical, I desire to call your attention to a copy of a report of Agent Tucker, at New York City, for May 25th, which was forwarded to your office under date of June 1st, 1922, in re - ONE COOK AND ONE DIXON - COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.

Since receiving the above report of Agent Tucker, I have been endeavoring to secure further information upon the aliases used by CANNON, but to date I have met with no results.

The Cleveland office of this Bureau sent in a conflicting report upon this matter, and aside from these two reports, other field offices of the Bureau have been unable to secure any information upon this subject.

As soon as further information is received, I will be glad to forward the same to you.

Yours very truly,

*W. J. Quinn*  
Director.

100-159214-X6

61-582-9
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JUL 22 1922
RECEIVED

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453N

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

JUL 8 1922

DIVISION 682

July 25th, 1922.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 1-77

RE: J. P. CANNON ALIAS COOK &  
JOSEPH DIXON.  
Communist Activities. N.Y. File No.  
R-172.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of the 21st instant, initialed  
GFR/JR, 61-682, which states that J.P. Cannon has been mentioned  
in data received from Ottawa, Canada, as Field Director of the  
Labor Film Service, and is also reported to be Editor of "The  
Toiler," you are informed that "The Toiler" has not been issued  
since the formation of The Workers' Party of America and was  
supplanted by "The Worker," which is the official organ of the  
latter party.

The editors of "The Worker" are J. Louis Engdahl and  
William F. Dunn and [redacted] informs me that Cannon,  
(whose Party name is Cook) was never editor of "The Toiler";  
also that Dixon and Cannon are two distinct persons. Cannon  
at the present time is representative of The Communist Party of  
America in Moscow and is expected to return to this country in  
a short time.

FOIA(b) (7) - (D)

Read by

JUL 28 1922

Wm. J. Burns.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-6-93 BY SP-6 AG/ef

Director

-2-

7/25/22

With regard to Dixon, I am informed by the same [redacted] that the former is from Chicago and is closely associated with the Red Trade Union International, together with Foster. "Dixon" is also said to be Earl R. Browder, an article by whom appears on page 16 of the July number of "The Labor Herald - Canadian Number," which is published in Chicago monthly by The Trade Union Educational League, of which William Z. Foster is the head. Foster also has a story in the same issue on page 12. I am transmitting with this letter a copy of the publication referred to.

It might be added that The Trade Union Educational League is thought to be the legal expression of the Red Trade Union International.

Yours very truly,



EDWARD J. BRENNAN  
Special Agent in Charge.

JGT-WED

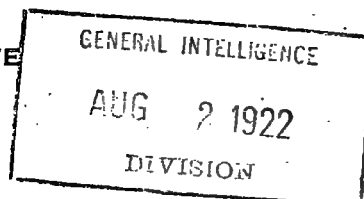
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*ew 7/26/22*

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON



July 27, 1922.

61-682

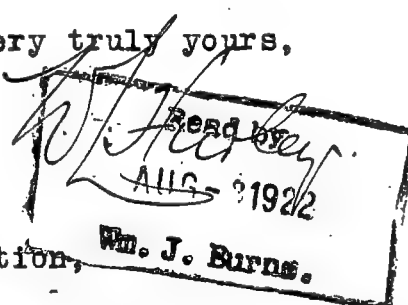
Dear Mr. Burns:

Information has been received through the Embassy at Berlin from the office of the Secret Police Section of the Foreign Office to the effect that at the beginning of June 1922 one Cook took part in the preliminary meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International in Moscow as representative for North America. He has also been elected to the International Commission which is to make preparations for the Fourth Congress of the Communist International to take place in November.

This is undoubtedly the same individual upon whom we have had correspondence in the past.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.



AUG 10 1922

100-159214-X8 61-682-8

RECORDED

GFR, JR.

August 7, 1922.

~~62-6828-2~~

100-159214-18 AUG 18 1922

Mr. W.L. Hurley,  
State Department,  
Washington.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/PLB  
SP-6 AG/CH

Dear Mr. Hurley -

With reference to your communication of  
the 27th ultimo, relative to one COOK, I desire to  
inform you that the real name of this individual is  
JAMES CANNON, who is known to be in Moscow at the present  
time.

I would appreciate any information which  
you may be able to procure upon this individual.

Yours very truly,

*W. F. Quinn*  
Director.

MAILED

AUG 7 - 1922

RECORDED

C

G. R. B.

4535

Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  
AUG 1 1922  
DIVISION

304 Federal Bldg.,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

August 2, 1922.

Wm. J. BARNES

BM:WL

~~United Classification  
Review Conducted  
See for Serial  
Form 4-74~~

*State  
for*

61-682-10  
100-159214-X9  
RECORDED

Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:- Attention, Mr. Hoover-2

Reference is had to your letter of July 21, 1922, initialed GFR-JR #61-682, commenting on your communication of May 24th and my reply of June 7th, concerning one COOK and one DIXON.

In the second paragraph of your letter of July 21st you state that you are just informed that J. P. CANNON has been mentioned in data received from Ottawa, as "field director" of the Labor Film Service. You state that he is also reported as editor of the "Worker".

This matter was again taken up with confidential sources of information and from one such source I was informed that J. P. CANNON of the "Worker", New York City, is the same CANNON who has been offered a job as field director of The Labor Film Service in Canada. Furthermore, this informant states that if CANNON accepts the position just mentioned one J. LOUIS KENGDAHL will succeed CANNON on the editorial staff of the "Worker". Informant further states that CANNON is not the only representative of the Red International in America, others being DUNN, LORE, SOLUTZKY, SALTZMAN, OLGIN, KATTER-FELD, and others.

From another confidential source Agent is advised that there are in fact two J. P. CANNONS in radical circles. One is JAMES P. CANNON National Chairman of the Workers Party and he is in no way connected with the other J. P. CANNON. This informant states that JAMES P. CANNON is now in Soviet Russia, as a representative of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, and is believed to be active in the Red Trade Union Internationale being originally an I. W. W. This informant further states that the second J. P. CANNON is JOHN P. CANNON, a Socialist and Trade Unionist, formerly of New York City, and while there was connected with The Labor Film Service. He states that while JOHN P. CANNON was in New York

*d*

*E*



453 T  
-2-  
Director, Bureau of Investigation.

8/ 2/'22

City JAMES P. CANNON was in the West. He states that JOHN P. CANNON is now Field Director of The Labor Film Service in Canada.

It will be noted that there is a conflict of opinion between these two informants, and this office is at a loss to know which, if either, of these informants is correct.

The information given, however, is passed on to you for whatever it may be worth.

Yours very truly,

*Bliss Morton*

BLISS MORTON  
Special Agent in Charge.

453 R

OFR. JR.

~~61-538~~

AUG 23 1922

August 9, 1922.

100-159214-X9

Mr. W.L. Hurley,  
State Department,  
Washington.  
Dear Mr. Hurley -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 MAC/DB  
WALSH AG/CH

With further reference to previous correspondence with this office concerning one COOK and one DEWON, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed copy of a communication from my Cleveland, Ohio, office on this subject.

The information contained in Mr. Morton's letter may be of little assistance in view of its conflicting nature.

Yours very truly,

  
Director.

encl. 126312

MAILED

AUG 15 1922

Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge Letherman. 1.  
This case originate at Boston. Journal to be made at Originating  
Office ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: 403 U Boston, Mass.	DATE WHEN MADE: 2/24/1923.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 2/16-23/1923.	REPORT MADE BY: [Redacted]
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: O JAMES P. CANNON, New York City.			FOIA(b) (7) - (D) Alleged Communist.
FACTS DEVELOPED:  At Boston, Mass.: <b>MAR 4 1923 SP-6AG/cl</b> (Boston file No. 199/30) <b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b> <b>DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/ps</b>  Informant, while at a meeting of the Majority Section of the C. P. of A., 60 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass., was advised that JAMES P. CANNON, organizer of the C. P. of A. and a delegate to the International Congress at Russia, has just returned to the United States from Russia. This statement was made by comrade J. F. MULLEN, of Boston, acting chairman of the meeting, who also stated that the C.E.C. of the Communist Party is to make arrangements with CANNON to address mass meetings in this district on behalf of Soviet Russia, in order that the workers may not be misled by the capitalist papers of the United States in reference to the true condition of Russia. He also stated that CANNON'S campaign in this district will be in reference to organization work on behalf of the Workers Party of America and will start on or about March 4th, next, the first meeting probably occurring at Lynn, Mass., on that date. These meetings will continue until March 10th, when CANNON may go to Philadelphia and later return to complete his tour of New England. After completing his tour in this section, he will then go to the western part of the country, as reported by Chairman MULLEN.			
CLOSED.		<b>GENERAL INTELLIGENCE</b> <b>MAR 2 1923</b> <b>DIVISION</b>	
REFERENCE: C	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON 2, NEW YORK CITY 2, BOSTON 2		

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES  
FILE NO. 100-159214-110  
61-682-11  
RECORDED  
MAR 27 1923  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
MAR 1-1923  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
ROUTED TO: HOOVER

REPORT MADE AT: New York, N. Y.	DATE: Feb. 27, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Feb. 27, 1923	REPORT BY: Geo. J. Carr.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: RE: WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA: RE: J. P. CANNON & K. RADZIVANOVICH - Tours.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York, N. Y.			

J. P. CANNON, who has returned after spending six months in Russia, will tour the United States lecturing on "Present Day Russia." His itinerary is as follows: March 4, Lynn, Mass., Laster Aid Ass'n. Hall, 34 Andrews St. 3 PM; March 5, Peabody, Mass. Levin Hall, 10 Peabody Sq. 7 PM; Mar. 6, Lanesville, Mass; Mar. 6, Peabody, Mass. Lecture on 4th Congress of the Communist International, admission by ticket only. Mar. 10, Phila. Pa., Labor Lyceum, Charles & Walnut Sts., Mar. 14, Bridgeport, Conn; Mar. 15, Hartford, Conn; Mar. 16, Springfield, Mass; Mar. 17, Worcester, Mass; Mar. 18, two lectures, Boston, Mass; Mar. 19, Gardner, Mass; Mar. 20, Fitchburg, Mass; Mar. 23, Quincy, Mass; Mar. 24, Fall River, Mass; Mar. 25, Lawrence, Mass. two lectures; Mar. 29, Providence, R. I. A. S. A. Hall, Westminster St. 8 PM; Mar. 30, New York Central Opera House.

RADZIVANOVICH will speak on the "Labor Movement of America and the Needs of the Russian Colony." He has already visited several cities and will continue his tour as follows; Kenosha, Wis. Mar. 3; Milwaukee, Wis. Mar. 4th; Racine, Wis. Mar. 5th; Grand Rapids, Mich. Mar. 8th; Flint, Mar. 9; Detroit Mar. 11; Pittsburgh, Mar. 13; Erie, Mar. 15th.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/4/90 BY SP-7 mce/PA

FILE NO. <b>67-682-13</b>		SECTION OF MAR
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		
ROUTED TO: WIDOVER	FILE A	GENERAL INTELLIGENCE MAR 2 1923 DIVISION

REFERENCE: COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:  
Wash. 2; Boston 1; Phila 1; Hartford 1; Providence 1; Springfield 1; Milwaukee 1; Grand Rapids 1; Detroit 1; Pittsburgh 1; Cleve. 1; New York 2.

(SJS:VD)

REPORT MADE AT: 453 V Springfield, Mass.	DATE WHEN MADE: Feb. 28, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Feb. 27, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: ADRIAN L. POTTER
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: JAMES P. CANNON Chairman, Workers Party of America, Speakers Committee Alleged Communist			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Palmer, Mass.			
<p>Agent received confidential information while attending a Workers Party of America meeting, to the effect that the agitation committee of the Workers Party of America has been notified by C. E. Ruthenberg, chairman of the executive committee, Workers Party of America, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City, that arrangements have been made for Subject to speak in various towns and cities in New England. Arrangements are being made to secure a hall at Palmer.</p> <p>Confidential informant stated that Subject had about four months ago returned from a long stay in Russia. Announcement was made in Ruthenberg's letter to the effect that Subject would speak on "The Fourth Congress of the Russian International", "Central Europe", and "The Russia of Today".</p> <p>Subject is to speak at the following places:</p> <p>Fitchburg, Tuesday, March 20th, Saima Hall Quincy, March 22, 23, Finnish Hall Revere, March 24th, Labor Lyceum Lawrence, March 25th, A.T.W. Hall West Concord, N.H., March 26th, Finnish Hall Providence, R.I., March 29th, A.C.A. Hall</p> <p>Cannon is to be accompanied by a Russian speaker, name not known to informant, but who states that the Russian has recently graduated from the Rand</p>			
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/DB- SP-6 AG/CM</p>			
<p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p>FILE NO. 100-157211-112 61-682-12</p> <p>BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION MAR 1 1923 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE</p> <p>ROUTED TO: HOOVER</p> <p>GENERAL INVESTIGATION MAR 3 1923 DIVISION</p>			
REFERENCE: COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASH. 2; BOSTON 2; PROVIDENCE 2; NEW YORK 2; SPFLD 1 ALP:ROP			

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School of Social Science, and by a woman, who is to speak in the Finnish language and who it is understood represents the Karjalan Trading Company, with headquarters at New York City.

At the W.P.A. meeting this date cards were passed around bearing the name "Olga Kaivola" (translated from Finnish reading) "Karjalan Trading Corporation, 4015--8th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Accomodations for 300 experienced electrical, bridge; structural iron workers; concrete construction engineers, and men having knowledge of manufacturing optical supplies."

"Men able to speak Russian, Finnish, German or Polish requested to meet Representative Delegate Kaivola for special information. At Springfield, M. Koski; Fitchburg, John Hill; Gardner, Matti Laittonen; Adams, John Saari; Westfield, Arvid Nymen; Palmer, Hilda Usitaalo; Athol and Orange, W. Pulkkinen; Worcester, Alek Ahava and Tima Kontunen."

Information was also received to the effect that Maissi Heikkinen of New York City was arranging committees in the eastern part of Massachusetts, and that with a Finn from Boston and another from Monson, Me., names not known to informant, a meeting was to be held Sunday, March 4th, Peabody, Mass., at which time this committee would be named.

#### UNDEVELOPED LEADS

Copies of this report forwarded to Boston, Providence and New York offices of the Bureau.

Case CONTINUED.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

# JOURNAL MEMORANDUM

Date Feb. 28, 1923 Office Springfield, Mass.

**TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:**

JAMES P. CANNON, Chairman, Alleged Communist  
Workers Party of America, Speakers Committee

Origin of Case Confidential Information Date Feb. 27, 1923

Local Office No. 4-207-1 Bureau No. 61-682 Other Office No. \_\_\_\_\_

Assigned to Special Agent in Chg. A.L. Potter Date Feb. 27, 1923

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**STATUS OF CASE**

Referred to U. S. Attorney \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. Comm. Warrants Issued \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of commissioner.)

Preliminary Hearing \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Continued Hearings \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Presented to Grand Jury \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Indictment Returned \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Arraignment and Plea \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Set for Trial \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of judge, court, and place.)

Court Verdict \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE.—This form is to be filled in by typewriter or ink.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge Letherman. 1.  
This case originated at Boston. Journal to be made at Originating Office ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: Boston, Mass.	DATE WHEN MADE: Mar. 14/23.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Mar. 4-5/1923.	REPORT MADE BY: <div></div>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman, Workers Party of America.		New York City. Communist Activities.	
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Lynn and Peabody, Mass.:  On March 4, 1923, informant attended a mass meeting held in Lasters Hall, Lynn, Mass., at which meeting JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman of the Workers Party of America, who has just returned from Soviet Russia, was the principal speaker.  Announcement was made at the meeting that Mr. Cannon was a recent observer of the economic policy of Soviet Russia and of the steps taken by that country to build on the Communist system of production. Mr. Cannon, it was stated, had also observed conditions in the Red Army and the activities of the Fourth World Congress.  Mr. Cannon stated that he desired to inform the American workers that Soviet Russia had many internal political troubles, as well as those of an economic nature, but that that government had systematically fought these troubles on the battle fields of Russia against the armies of Wrangel and Kolchak, as well as having fought the Mensheviks organized and aided by the capitalist governments of the world, claiming that an economic crisis had been forced upon Russia by the capitalist powers of the world. Cannon continued, American workers, including myself, had learned of Russia only through the capitalist press and through their conceptions of conditions existing in			
REFERENCE:		COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON 3, N.Y. CITY 2, BOSTON 2. 100-154214-113	

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MAR 4 1923 SP-6 AG/KH  
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DATE 9/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/BB

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FILE NO. 61-682-15	RECORDED MAR 20 1923 DIVISION
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION MAR 19 1923 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
ROUTED TO: HOOVER	FILE



3/14/1923.

Russia; but after six months of personal investigation in Russia he had a different opinion. He stated that Soviet Russia, under control of the Communist leaders, had overcome political and economical difficulties and that the crisis is practically over, because the Red Army, under the control of the Communist Party of Russia, is well organized, the farmers and peasants are working in the interest of Soviet Russia, and the Red Trade Union International is controlled by party leaders whom are working hand in hand with the government to build up its economic policy.

After a study of conditions in Russia, past and present, the speaker has come to the conclusion that that the Soviet form of government has been firmly established in Russia and is there to stay. Russia, however, the speaker said, is looking to the workers of the world to come to its assistance and support the economic policy in Russia, and for this reason is in need of materials of industry for building and agricultural purposes. He also stated that Russia must be freed from the so-called blockade enforced upon her by the bourgeoisie countries of the world. It therefore behooved the workers of America, as well as the workers of other capitalistic countries, not only to organize to help the Communist Government of Russia, but to organize powerfully in their respective countries to control the affairs in their own countries so that the workers may be in a position to establish an international working and ruling class to co-operate with Soviet Russia.

The speaker stated this was the first address he had made in

-3-

3/14/1923.

[redacted] this country since returning from Russia, and he intends to continue his tour, speaking on the subjects of "Russia Today" and "The Fourth Congress of the Communist International".

The speaker closed his address by urging the workers of America to stand by Soviet Russia and for the principles of communism.

An admission of thirty cents was charged and about 175 persons were present.

. . . . .

On March 5th Informant attended a similar mass meeting held at Levin Hall, Peabody, Mass., also addressed by comrade CANNON, his subject being "Russia Today".

At this meeting the admission price was also thirty cents. His address here was, in fact, similar to that delivered on March 4th at Lynn, Mass., referred to above. About 85 persons were present.

It appears to be the intention of comrade CANNON in his tour to inform the workers of the country about conditions in Soviet Russia and at the same time to agitate the organization of the Workers Party and a political labor party under control of the Communist Party of America.

At these meetings, in addition to charging for admission, the names and addresses of persons present were secured, which were to be sent to the Workers Party to form a list for use in propaganda purposes.

CLOSED.

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Hartford, Conn.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>3/16/23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>3/14-15/23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>WILLIAM S. LOUGHRAN</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>RE: J.P. CANNON <del>and</del> Radical Metting - Alleged Russian Communist speaker.</b>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>AT BRIDGEPORT and HARTFORD:</b>		<b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b> <b>DATE FEB 20 1996 BY SP-6 AC/KH</b> <b>Limited Classification Review Conducted See Top Serial Form 4-714</b>	
<p>Report of Agent GEORGE J. STARR, New York City, Office of the Bureau under date of February 27th, 1923, entitled RE: WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, J.P. CANNON and K KADZIVANOVICH - Tours, New York File #R-172-D informed that J.P. CANNON who had returned after spending six months in Russia would tour the United States lecturing on "PRESENT DAY RUSSIA". His itinerary called for an engagement at Bridgeport on March 14th, and Hartford on March 15th. RADVIZANOVICH was not scheduled to speak in the Connecticut District.</p> <p>Agent interviewed Sergeant James Coughlin, who has charge of the issuing of permits for meetings etc. at Police headquarters Bridgeport, on the evening of March 14th, and learned that no permit for any meeting whatsoever had been issued by the police department for this date. An examination of the files regarding the meetings was made by Agent and nothing of value could be learned regarding this engagement. Agent got in touch with Lieutenant E. Hazelton of the 2nd Precinct, located on the East Side of Bridgeport, where the Russian element reside, and he also stated that they had no information regarding any meeting in their District on this date. Accompanied by Sergeant John Brown and Officer E. LANGHAM, of the 2nd Precinct,</p>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:		
<b>MR. HOOVER</b>	<b>3-Washington, 1-N.Y. 1-Hartford.</b>		
APPROVED & FORWARDED <b>JOHN A. DOWD WSL-MMCK</b>		MAR 17 1923 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ROUTED TO: <b>HOOVER</b> FILE	

RE: J.P. CANNON

ALLEGED RUSSIAN COMMUNIST

Agent made a tour of all the halls located on the East side of Bridgeport, where meetings are frequently held. This included Bohemian National Hall, 506 Hallett St., Sokol Hall, 525 Hallett St., the Russian Technical Headquarters, 712 Hallett St; Rakoczy Hall, Hallett St; and others. There were no meetings of any character being held at any of the above places and the police reported they have kept a close surveillance on the activities of the RUSSIAN element in this section and they have issued instructions to the Secretaries and officers of the different clubs to make application to the police before holding any meeting of any kind.

Agent covered Socialist Headquarters, 306 Fairfield Ave., and learned that no meeting was being held there. Agent also learned that there was no meetings being held in the West End Section of Bridgeport.

AT HARTFORD, March 15th, 1923.

Agent learned that subject is scheduled to speak at LABOR EDUCATIONAL ALLIANCE HALL on Windsor Avenue, Hartford, Conn., on the evening of March 15th, 1923, and covered same. There were 82 persons in attendance and admission of 25 cents a person was charged, and a collection was taken up during the meeting amounting to about \$7.50. No literature was distributed. Subject confined his remarks entirely to a story of his trip through Russia, and did not make any statement derogatory to the United States Government. He stated that his visit made him realize the strength and faith of the RUSSIAN WORKERS in the revolution, also he informed that the government of Russia controls all of the railroads, the basic industries

3/14-15/23

Page 3

ALLEGED RUSSIAN COMMUNIST

and that the school system built by the Proletariat is wonderful. He stated that 70% of the RUSSIAN Peasants are illiterate and that great efforts are being made by the government to have the masses obtain an education. He mentioned about the Red Army, saying that there are five million men under control of the government of high morale. Strikes are not impossible he informed under the Soviet Government, but the COMMUNIST PARTY tries to avoid them by compromising with the trades unions. He stated he attended the FIFTH ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS, when 1,000 delegates from all over the world were present, and which was held in MOSCOW, and ZINOVIEV who is close to LENINE and TROTZKY made a report on the conditions of the government at the present time. He mentioned the phrase that the RUSSIAN LEADERS have in vogue entitled "MAKE READY FOR PEACE, but BE READY FOR WAR". The speaker said that RUSSIA under the present regime could not stand alone, and that the leaders in the SOVIET REGIME are counting on revolutions taking place in the EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, such as Germany and France. He said that members of the PROLETARIAT are in these countries at present on tours with the object of working with the radical leaders of those countries.

The speaker also mentioned that at the FIFTH ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS, General Boudini of the RED ARMY was given the floor for a few minutes ~~xxxx~~ and remarked to those present "TELL US WHAT YOU WANT US TO DO and we will do it". The speaker also said the RED ARMY also protects the trade unions, whenever any friction arises regarding strikes etc. The remarks of the speaker were not taken very enthusiastically by the audience and he was heckled by a few of the RUSSIANS in attendance. One of the questions asked of the speaker was as follows:-

RE: J.P. CANNON

ALLEGED RUSSIAN COMMUNIST

"WILL YOU ADMIT THAT THE PRESENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA WILL NOT BE ABLE TO HOLD OUT UNLESS THERE ARE REVOLUTIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES"? The speaker answered "The Soviet Government has its back against the wall, it is entrenching itself so as to be able to withstand any onslaughts economically and otherwise and has given a little ground to the so-called capitalists who have leased concessions in Russia. The Russian Government will not be able to stand alone for many years unless outside aid is furnished by the Proletariat of other countries. Private Capital has come back in Russia to a small extent but the Russian officials have full control of the situation."

The speaker also remarked that the reason the government is allowing private capitalists back into Russia is for the purpose of starting the factories on a large scale. The government always controls the majority of the stock ~~and~~ etc in any of these industries.

The speaker made no remarks about his itinerary and only asked for questions from the audience. He is described as follows:-

Age about 34, height 5 ft 3", well built, smooth face, dark hair, parted very low on left side, wavy fashion, wears glasses with gold rims and gold side bands, sandy complexion.

The meeting scheduled for Bridgeport and Hartford were the only ~~me~~ ones mentioned in the itinerary of subject in this District.

CASE CONCLUDED in the CONNECTICUT DISTRICT.

Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge Letherman. 1.  
This case originated at Boston. Journal to be made at Originat-

REPORT MADE AT: Boston, Mass.	DATE WHEN MADE: 3/24/1923.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 3/18/1923.	REPORT MADE BY: <div></div>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <u>OJAMES P. CANNON</u> : Workers Party of America : Communist Activities.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <u>At Boston, Mass.:</u> <div style="text-align: right;">(Boston file No. 199/33)</div> <div style="text-align: center;"><b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/RS MAR 4 1990 SP-6 AG/CH</b></div> <p>On the 18th instant Informant attended a mass meeting at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton Street, Boston, Mass., under the auspices of the WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, at which meeting JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman of that party, was the speaker.</p> <p>His subject was "Russia Today". Owing to attending another meeting at Roxbury it was late when Informant arrived, and the entire address of CANNON was not heard, but it was similar to that delivered at Lynn, Mass., on the fourth instant, which Informant attended, and which CANNON stated was his first meeting on his tour of the country after his return from Russia.</p> <p>There were about 375 persons in the hall and a collection for the SACCO-VANZETTI defence fund was taken.</p> <p><u>CLOSED.</u></p> <div style="text-align: right;"><b>GENERAL INTELLIGENCE MAR 31 1923 DIVISION</b></div> <p>APR 16 1923</p> <p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"><p>FILE NO. <u>61-682-15X</u> <b>RECORDED</b></p><p>BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION</p><p>DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE</p><p>ROUTED TO: <u>100-159214-X15</u></p><p>FILE <u>482</u></p></div> <p>REFERENCE: <u>a</u> COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: BOSTON 2, WASHINGTON 3.</p>			

Case originated at BOSTON: Journal to be made at Originating Office  
ONLY: Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge Letherman.

REPORT MADE AT: BOSTON, MASS.	DATE WHEN MADE: MAR. 28, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: MAR. 26, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: JOHN J. O'BRIEN:
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA - James P. Cannon, Speaker at Mass Meeting, held in W. Concord, N. H. - Communist Matter.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: at WEST CONCORD, N.H.		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/DB MAR 6 1990 SP-6 AG/CH	
<p>Based on information received by Special Agent West, in charge of the General Intelligence Section of this office, to the effect that a meeting was to be held in the Finnish Hall, West Concord, N. H., under the auspices of the Workers Party of America, at which the principal speaker would be JAMES P. CANNON, Chairman of this Party, and whose subject was to be "RUSSIA OF TODAY", Agent proceeded to Concord, N. H., and advised City Marshal George A. S. Kimball of the proposed meeting.</p> <p>City Marshal Kimball detailed Sergt. C. F. Wallace of the local police, in civilian clothes, to accompany Agent in covering meeting. The hall is located on Knight Street, West Concord, and is known as Finnish Hall. At 8 p.m. the meeting opened; there were fifty-five (55) people present, including seven (7) women.</p> <p>During his talk, CANNON mentioned the fact that he had met and talked with Trotzky and Lenine whom he referred to as the two leading men in the world today. Admission of 25¢ was charged; no literature was distributed. Meeting adjourned at 9:30 pm. Cannon was the only speaker.</p> <p>A notice of the proposed meeting was published in the "Concord Daily Monitor" of March 26th, which paper is filed with this report. <b>CLOSED.</b></p>			
REFERENCE: FILE 199/33	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON 3: BOSTON 2:		
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		ROUTED TO: GENERAL INTELLIGENCE	
FILE NO. 61-682-16		RECORDED MAY 1 1923	
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April 2, 1923.

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MAR 14 1998 SP-6 AG/CH

MEMORANDUM IN RE: J. P. CANNON

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61-682-20  
U. S. DEPT. OF INVESTIGATION  
RECORDED  
APR 21 1923 P. M.  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FILES FILE

There is listed the name JAMES P. CANNON, as well as JOSEPH P. CANNON, but they appear to be the same individual.

Cannon is stated to be an American, born in Kansas, of English-Irish descent. He is stated to have been a member of the I. W. W., as well as of the Communist Labor Party.

In 1919, during the coal strike, a radical paper under the name of "The Workers World" was published in Kansas City, Missouri, subject being the editor, and because of the articles in this paper he was indicted for conspiracy to obstruct the production of bituminous coal. Later a demurrer to this indictment was sustained.

Subject was a delegate to the Convention in Chicago in 1920, where the Communist Labor Party and Communist Party combined forming the United Communist Party. He was reported to have been a member of the Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party, and to be an associate editor of "The Toiler". He was district organizer at St. Louis for the United Communist Party of America.

Following subject's attendance at the Chicago Convention, he made his report, from which the following is quoted:-

4/2/23.

"In regard to mass action there can be no question as to whether the Communist Party is a legal organization or an illegal organization, because we advocate the overthrow of the Government through armed uprising, and therefore we have to continue to stay an underground organization until we wring the power from the capitalist class".

Cannon has been reported to be a member of the Advisory Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia; also to be a member of the Advisory Committee of the American-Russian Federated Relief Committee. Subject was a member of the sub-committee on Program, Manifesto and Resolutions, at the Convention in New York City in December, 1921, at which the Workers Party was formed.

Cannon is listed in the "Uj Elore" as President of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, and is elsewhere reported under the title of National Chairman of the Workers Party.

Subject left the United States on May 10, 1922 as a passenger on the S. S. "LATVIA", en route to Russia. The Party name of this subject is Cook. This is interesting in view of the fact that in June, 1922, one Cook took part as a representative for North America in the preliminary meeting of the Executive Committee of the 3rd International at Moscow, and was also elected to the International Commission to make preparations for the 4th Congress of the Communist International, to take place in November, 1922.

After a stay of a number of months in Russia, Cannon has returned to the United States and is now making a tour of this country as a speaker for the Workers Party. The subject of his

4/2/23

speeches is, "The truth about the Russia of 1922 as he saw it". Cannon's speeches deal particularly with economic conditions in Russia and the Trade Union movement there, he claiming that the Unions are in reality the very backbone of Russia today; that they have the protection of the Soviet Government at all times and are much more effective in Russia than they are in the United States.

Early in 1922 subject was reported to be a representative in this country of the Red Trade Union International.

In "The Worker" for February 17, 1923 (official organ of the Workers Party) Cannon is reported as saying,

"The Soviet Government will not build industry upon the misery of the workers, or permit foreign capital to do so".

In Cannon's speeches during his present tour he is reported to have confined himself to a discussion of conditions in Russia, without speaking upon the situation in the United States.

Subject's name, as appearing in the Uj Elore, is given as JAMES P. CANNON, so this is probably the correct name.

In closing it may be mentioned that Cannon is reported to be a graduate of Kansas University and to have been admitted to the bar, though never practicing.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

JOURNAL MEMORANDUM

Date March 30, 1923. Office Boston, Massachusetts.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: James P. Cannon, Speaker at Mass Meeting  
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA  
held in W. Concord, N.H. - Communist Matter.

Origin of Case Local complaint Date Mar. 24, 1923.

Local Office No. 199/33 Bureau No. 61-682 Other Office No. \_\_\_\_\_

Assigned to Special Agent John J. O'Brien Date Mar. 24, 1923.

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

STATUS OF CASE

Referred to U. S. Attorney \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. Comm. Warrants Issued \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of commissioner.)

Preliminary Hearing \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Continued Hearings \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Presented to Grand Jury \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Indictment Returned \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Arraignment and Plea \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Set for Trial \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of judge, court, and place.)

Court Verdict \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: Concluded.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/ps  
MAR 4 1996 SP-6 AG/ctt

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April 5, 1923.

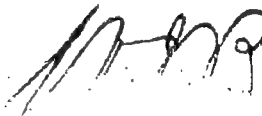
JEH/LMR

Mr. W. L. Hurley,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.  
My dear Mr. Hurley:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/3/90 BY SP-7 mac/DBB  
MAR 4, 1996 SA6 RG/CH

In compliance with telephonic request made  
by Miss Watson of your office for information in our  
possession concerning J. P. Cannon, I am enclosing  
herewith a copy of a memorandum upon this subject.

Very truly yours,



Director.

Encl. 5336.

MAILED  
APR 5 1923

100-159214-X18

RECORDED - 64-682-17

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
APR 6 1923 A.M.	
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FILE	

453A.

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Cleveland, Ohio</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>4/10/'23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>4/10/'23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>J. V. RYAN</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>J. P. CANNON - Chairman, Workers Party of America.</b>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <div style="text-align: right;"><u>Cleveland File No. 9510</u></div> <u>AT CLEVELAND, OHIO:</u>  Confidential information reveals the fact that J. P. CANNON, chairman of THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, who returned from Russia recently, after a six months' study of Russian conditions, is making a four or five months' tour of the country to tell the workers about the life of their Russian comrades. CANNON will speak on "Russia Today" and "The Fourth Congress of the Communist Internationale"  In the following meetings thus far arranged, he will speak on "Russia Today" unless otherwise indicated:  Pittsburg, Pa., Sun., Apl. 15, 2:30 P. M., Labor Lyceum Monessen, Pa., Mon., Apl. 16, 8 P. M., Finnish Hall, 525 6th St. Youngstown, O. Tue., Apl. 17, 8 P. M. Ukrainian Hall, 525 W. Rayen Ave. Cleveland, O., Sun., Apl. 22, 2:30 P. M. Moose Hall. Cleveland, O., Mon., Apl. 23, 8 P. M. hall to be announced later. E. Pittsburg, Pa., Tue., Apl. 24, 7:30 P. M. Workers Home, Cor. Electric and North Avenues. New Castle, Pa., Wed., Apl. 25, 8 P. M. hall to be announced later. <div style="text-align: right;">MAY 1 - 1923</div>			
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>8/8/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 mac/DB</u> MAR 4 1996 SP-6 AG/CH		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> FILE NO. <u>61-682-17</u>  BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  APR 12 1923  DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  ROUTED TO: <u>COGNITIVE</u> FILE <u>WLM</u>  RECORDED  GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  APR 13 1923  WL </div>	
REFERENCE: <b>Mr. Hoover-2</b>	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Wash;3;</b> 100-159214-X19		

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

7-1169

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Cleveland, Ohio</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>4/13/'23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>4/13/'23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>J. V. RYAN</b>								
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>OJ. P. CANNON- Chairman, Workers Party of America.</b>											
FACTS DEVELOPED: <div style="text-align: right;"><u>Cleveland File No. 9510</u></div>  <u>AT CLEVELAND, OHIO:</u>  Reference is made to previous report by this Agent,  dated April 10, 1923, relative to above subject.  Literature is being distributed at Cleveland, Ohio, by members of the Cleveland branch of THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, stating that JAMES P. CANNON, national chairman of the WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, will speak on April 22, 1923 at Moose Hall, located at 1000 Walnut Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. He will speak on "Russia Today after five years of Labor Revolution". The cards also state that he has just returned from Russia, where for seven months he was a fraternal member of the executive committee of the Communist International at Moscow. That he knows the facts about Russian industry, the trade unions and the Red Army. That he brings a special message from the leaders of the Russian Revolution to the American workers.  On the above mentioned date this meeting will be covered by our Agents, and the information received will be promptly forwarded the Washington Bureau office.											
<div style="float: left; width: 40%;"> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>8/8/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 mac/BS</u> <u>MAR 4 1996</u> <u>SP-6 AG/CH</u></p> </div> <div style="float: right; width: 55%;"> <p>MAY 7 1923</p> <p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>FILE NO. <b>61-682-19</b></td> <td>RECORDED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION <b>APR 15 1923</b></td> <td>GENERAL INTELLIGENCE <b>APR 18 1923</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ROUTED TO: <b>HOOVER</b></td> <td>FILE <b>Wash:3: WL</b></td> </tr> </table> </div>				FILE NO. <b>61-682-19</b>	RECORDED	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION <b>APR 15 1923</b>	GENERAL INTELLIGENCE <b>APR 18 1923</b>	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		ROUTED TO: <b>HOOVER</b>	FILE <b>Wash:3: WL</b>
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REFERENCE: <b>Mr. Hoover-2</b>	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>100-159214-20</b>										

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

7-1109

REPORT MADE AT: Cleveland, Ohio	DATE WHEN MADE: 4/24/1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 4/23/1923	REPORT MADE BY: A. D. Mehegan.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:  JAMES P. CANNON - Chairman - Workers Party of America.			
FACTS DEVELOPED:  ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/pt At Cleveland, Ohio. MAR 6 1996 SP-6 AG/CH Cleveland File No. 9510			
<p>On April 23rd, 1923, at 8:00 P.M., - JAMES P. CANNON, Chairman of the Workers Party of America, addressed an open meeting at Grdina's Hall, No. 6025 St. Clair Avenue. There was a mixed crowd of men, women and children in attendance, - not exceeding one hundred and fifty people altogether. The crowd was well dressed and very well behaved. The red flag was not displayed from the stage nor any other part of the hall. There was, however, a small American shield in one of the posters on the side wall.</p> <p>JAMES P. CANNON, as principal speaker of the evening, represented that he was delivering a personal message from the Fourth International Congress at Moscow, which was held in the summer of 1922. He detailed the developments of the Communist Party in France, Germany, Italy, Norway and Czecho-Slovakia. At this International Congress there was appointed an executive Central Committee of twenty-five, whose function is to control the policies of the various National groups of Communist Parties in Europe. This Central Committee is responsible only to the International Congress.</p> <p>CANNON explained that centralized control from Moscow is necessary so as to guide the National Parties through</p>			
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their struggle with the Burgeoise and Capitalistic classes.

The failure of the Italian uprising in 1921, when the WORKERS seized the industrial plants, did not succeed because of the lack of cohesion of the Italian Communists with the leadership of the Internationale at Moscow. The failure of this Italian movement was also due to the inclusion of opportunists in the pure Communist ranks. The Fascisti movement in Italy is looked upon as a temporary dictatorship. CANNON further stated that the Communists of Italy came to the Fourth International Congress at Moscow, acknowledged their weaknesses and faults, and subscribed to the future leadership of the Central Executive Committee.

In France the Communistic movement is now controlled by the Central Executive Committee, of Moscow, following a very severe struggle against the opportunists and social democrats who were in the ranks of the French Party.

The Communist Parties of Norway, Germany, and Czecho-Slovakia have lined up with the Central Executive Committee at Moscow and acknowledged their superior authority and mandate to dictate their policies.

The Fourth International Congress urges the application of the "United Front" movement to the United States in the same manner that the movement has been applied in Europe. The Central Committee of the Internationale believes that due to its experience and guidance by the Russian leaders who have passed through all phases of the class struggle and revolution and final attainment of Communistic Government,

Agent A.D.Mehegan

4/24/1923

Cleveland File 9510

that it is the logical leader of the Communistic movement throughout the world. At the Fourth International Congress, America was represented,— much to the extreme interest of LENINE and other Russian Leaders, and they held that the United States was not ripe for revolutionary doctrine, and it was recommended that extremely radical papers and manifestos be discontinued, and that there be a reduction in the Communistic talk and a program for more actual propaganda work among the masses be substituted.

The Paper known as "THE WORKER" was shown to the Russian leaders at Moscow and they made the pointed remark that "If that kind of paper was legal in America, what was the character of the illegal or under-ground newspaper." The under-ground paper of the WORKERS Party of America was shown to LENINE, and he wrote in lead pencil on the margin of the paper: "Stop this nonsense." This is: "The COMMUNIST"

The Russian leaders told the Americans present at the Fourth Internationale that their energy should now be devoted to the organization and support of a powerful Labor Party or Labor Union, and that time and propaganda be spent on the development of "Class consciousness" among the Workers of America. It was held that outside of Germany, America was the best potential field for the growth and spread of the revolutionary doctrine, as is peculiar to the Communist Party. The Americans were plainly told that it was folly and waste of time to talk revolution and destruction, now, in a land like America where the Burgeoise was powerful and wealthy. The development of America in Communistic ideas at this time was paralleled<sup>to</sup> the condition of Europe

Agent A.D.Mehegan

4/24/1923

Cleveland File #9510

in the year 1913 before the World War. Russian Leaders further recommend that study classes be organized so as to understand and develop the real Communistic theories as they exist in Russia today;- further that THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, now 20,000 strong in the United States, should assume the leadership and absorb all other factions so as to present a united front to the Capitalistic and Burgeoise classes.

It was impressed upon the delegates from America that the Central Executive Committee should control the policies of the WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA as well as other Communistic Parties of the World.

The last part of the meeting was enlivened by an oratorical fight between the representatives of the Proletarian Party of America and the WORKERS PARTY, championed by JAMES P. CANNON. The WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA has attempted to absorb the Proletarian Party, but the latter object. After five or six fiery speeches by members of the Proletarian Party and the WORKERS PARTY, CANNON hasily adjourned the meeting. It is probable that the meeting would have ended in a fist fight had the discussion been further prolonged.

There was circulated at this meeting a Booklet entitled "Burns and Daugherty's Attack upon Labor and Liberty," published by the Labor Defense Council, #166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. This Booklet will be retained in the Cleveland Office files, as no doubt the Director's office is already supplied with copies of the publication.

25

This case originated at New York, N.Y.  
Journal to be made at originating office ONLY: Grand Rapids File No. 940.

REPORT MADE AT: Grand Rapids, Mich.	DATE WHEN MADE: May 10, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: May 9, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: Jos. E. Bayliss.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <u>RE: WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA:</u> <u>RE: J. P. CANNON &amp; K. RADZIVANOVICH - Tours</u>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: AT GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>8/8/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 MGC/RAC</u> <u>MAR 4 1992</u> SP-6 AGC/H	
Reference is made to report of Special Agent Geo. J. Starr, New York File No. R-172-D, New York, N.Y., dated Feb. 27, 1923, in re: <u>WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA: RE: J. P. CANNON &amp; K. RADZIVANOVICH - TOURS.</u>			
<p>J. P. CANNON, International Secretary, had a meeting of the WORKERS PARTY, in the TRADES and LABOR COUNCIL hall, 132 Lyon St. N.W., Grand Rapids, Michigan, on the evening of May 9, 1923, admission by ticket, costing 25¢; the meeting being opened at 8:30 P.M., called to order by President, EDWARD KOSTEN, when announcement was made that FITZPATRICK, Chairman of the Chicago State Federation, would speak in the same hall on Sunday, May 27th, on the subject, "LABOR AND POLITICS".</p> <p>CANNON spoke for one hour and twenty minutes, to about 175 men and 15 women, on the subject, "PRESENT DAY RUSSIA"; told of his recent experiences in Russia, where he attended the Fourth International Congress of the Workers Party, and the Fifth Congress of the Trades Union; &amp; told his hearers, <del>many</del> among other things, that most of the industries in Russia were owned and controlled by the Government; that all land was held by the Government; that there were few owners of private property. He lauded the <del>successes</del> success of the Soviet Government in the operation of its industries; mentioned the Red Army, controlled by the Soviet Government; stated it had</p>			
REFERENCE: Mr. Hoover-2.	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON, 2; New York, 1; Grand Rapids, 1.		

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MAY 15 1923  
DIVISION  
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FILE NO.  
61-682-22  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
MAY 12 1923  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
ROUTED TO:  
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100-159214-X22

7-1169

been a hard struggle during the past five years, but that vast changes could be seen in 1922; that there was an increase of 50% in wages, and in exports. CANNON urged the ONE BIG UNION idea, and compared the appearance of those who attended the last Convention of the WORKERS PARTY - delegates who he stated were real workers - to that of the Convention of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, held at Atlantic City, where the delegates (he stated) were all fat men; well fed; wore expensive clothing and diamond stick pins.

C O N C L U D E D.

This case originated at New York, N.Y. : Grand Rapids File 940  
Journal to be made at originating office only: Y. File R-172-D.

REPORT MADE AT: Grand Rapids, Mich.	DATE WHEN MADE: May 10, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: May 9, 1923.	REPORT MADE BY: Jos. E. Bayliss.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: RE: <u>WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA:</u> RE: <u>J.P. CANNON &amp; K. RADZIVANOVICH - Tours:</u>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: AT GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.  Reference is made to report of Special Agent Geo. J. Starr, New York File R-172-D, New York, N.Y., dated Feb. 27, 1923, in re: <u>WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA: RE: J.P. CANNON &amp; K. RADZIVANOVICH-- Tours.</u>  J.P. CANNON, International Secretary, had a meeting of the WORKERS PARTY, in the TRADES & LABOR COUNCIL HALL, 132 Lyon St. N.W., Grand Rapids, Michigan, on the evening of May 9th, 1923, admission being by ticket costing 25 cents. The meeting was called to order at 8:30 PM., by President Edw. Kosten, when announcement was made that FITZPATRICK, Chairman of the Chicago State Federation, would speak in the same hall on Sunday, May 27th., on the subject "LABOR & POLITICS".  CANNON spoke for one hour and twenty minutes to about 175 men and 15 women, on the subject "PRESENT DAY RUSSIA"; told of his experiences in Russia where he attended the Fourth International Congress of the WORKERS PARTY, and the FIFTH Congress of the TRADES UNION; told his hearers, among other things, that most of the industries in Russia were owned and controlled by the Government; that there were few owners of private property. He lauded the success of the Soviet Government in the operation of its industries; mentioned the red Army, controlled by the Soviet Government; stated it had been a hard struggle during the past five years, but that vast changes could be seen in 1922; that there			
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 MDC/DB MAR 4 1980 SP-6 AGT/CH			
DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES JUN 8 1923 RECORDED GENERAL INTELLIGENCE JUN 2 1923 DIVISION JEB:KK 100-159214-X2381B			
REFERENCE: Mr. Hoover-2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington, 3; New York, 1; Grand Rapids, 1.		

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7-1169

No Originals Read.

had been an increase of 50% in wages and in exports. CANNON urged the ONE BIG UNION idea, and compared the <sup>appearance</sup> ~~experiences~~ of those who attended the last convention of the WORKERS PARTY - delegates who he stated were real workers - to that of the Convention of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, held ( he said) at Atlantic City, where the delegates (he stated) were all fat men; well fed; wore expensive clothing and diamond stick pins.

C O N C L U D E D.

# Instructions of Agent in Charge Johannes.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT St. Paul, Minnesota.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: St. Paul, Minn.	DATE WHEN MADE: 5/21/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 5/20/23	REPORT MADE BY: John M. Keith.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: New York, N.Y. : COMMUNIST RADICAL, Chairman JAMES P. CANNON, Minneapolis, Minn. : of the Workers Party of America.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Minneapolis, Minn.: (File #8481)			
During the week previous to May 18th, 1923, the following red handbills were distributed about Minneapolis:			
<p>"RUSSIA TODAY after five years of revolution -----HEAR----- JAMES P. CANNON National Chairman of the Workers' Party of America, who has just returned from Russia.</p> <p>At Richmond Hall 225 South 5th St. Friday May 18th, 8:00 P.M. Admission 25 cents which includes 20 weeks subscription to THE WORKER, a six page workers' paper."</p>			
<p>Agent was furnished with a copy of the above by Agent in Charge Johannes and instructed to attend the meeting in question.</p> <p>At 8 P.M. on May 11th, 1923, at the Richmond Hall, as above indicated, in Minneapolis, this meeting which was held under the auspices of the Workers' Party of America, was called to order by a man whose name Agent understands to be MINOR, but the</p>			
REFERENCE: Mr. Hoover.	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Director (3) New York (1) 100-159214-X24		

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GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

MAY 25 1923

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FILE NO.

61-682-23

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAY 20 1923 P.M.

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JUN 20 1923

JMK:PW



given name could not be ascertained. He asserted that he was the district organizer at Minneapolis for the Workers' Party of America, and went on to state in detail that the Workers' Party of America is nothing more nor less than the Communist Party of America under another name. MINOR made an appeal for new members, urging all those in favor of the forcible overthrow of the "capitalistic" government in the United States to enlist at once into the ranks of the Workers Party of America.

After this first plea, while waiting for the speaker of the evening to arrive, MINOR began introducing to the audience certain radical literature, such as the VOICE OF LABOR, a newspaper, published weekly at 2537 Fullerton Avenue, Chicago. THE WORKER, the new organ of the Workers' Party of America was also introduced.

MINOR then introduced the May 1923 copy of the Liberator, which contains an article entitled: "The Kaiser's Mr. Burns". On pages 26 and 27 of this volume, there is a full, two-paged cartoon of the Director of this Bureau. MINOR was very caustic in his remarks about the Department of Justice Agents in general, he asserted that one of these spies (Department of Justice Agents) were probably within the sound of his voice at that time----about the only truthful statement which he made during the whole evening according to this Agent's opinion. Copy of the Liberator, is being attached to this report for the Washington Office.

MINOR then introduced the speaker of the evening, JAMES P. CANNON, of New York, a red headed man, medium build, with the thumb of his right hand missing, CANNON was introduced as the National Chairman of the

Workers' Party of America, and spoke for about two hours on the subject of "RUSSIA TODAY". Agent was surprised at the tone of subject's speech. He seemed very frank, and at least gave the impression of telling the truth about the Russian situation. He described to the audience the beginning of the Russian Revolution, and traced it chronologically down to the present time, making the bald, frank statement that Russia Today is in a very bad condition, and not even one third as well off as she was before the revolution under the Czars.

CANNON spent a great deal of his time to a description of the "NEP" or the New Economical Policy, which has recently been instituted in Russia by the Soviet Rulers, a policy which of course, is well known to all familiar with developments in Russia.

While picturing Russia Today as just beginning to climb again after the depression of five years of Revolution, the Speaker urged upon his audience that the peasant in Russia today, with his dearth of food and clothing, was better off than the automobile owning worker of America, because the former had enough "freedom of speech", and "assembly", and other communistic desiderata, to make up for his shortage of material things.

CANNON described to the audience the workings of the Red Army, and told of some talk which he had with one of the leaders of the Red Army, whose name Agent was unable to obtain. CANNON stated that this Red Army Officer told him that whenever the American Workers were ready to revolt that the Red Army of Russia stood ready to come to their assistance (Cheers from the audience).

5/21/23

CANNON, in stating his reason for going to Russia, stated to his audience that he was for seven months a fraternal member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Moscow.

At this so-called lecture there were present about 250 persons, most of whom appeared to be foreigners of different breeds, the Finns and Germans, however, seeming to predominate. Agent attempted to count the number of persons in the audience who appeared to be really American born citizens. The best estimate which Agent could make of this number was about 48, and it was very interesting to note that of these 48 Americans, the great majority of them were past forty years of age, poorly dressed and with all the appearance of the person who has made an effort at life and failed, and is disgusted and bitter with all mankind.

Since this subject is a resident of New York City, where the headquarters for the Workers' Party of America seems to be located, Agent is sending a copy of this report to the New York Office for its information.

Unless there are further developments at St. Paul, this investigation of this particular subject will be considered closed.

CLOSED.

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

Cleveland, Ohio

5/22/'23

5/11/'23

J. V. RYAN

## TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

JAMES P. CANNON - National Chairman,  
Workers Party of America.Activities at Toledo,  
Ohio - May 11, 1923.

## FACTS DEVELOPED:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/RSB

Cleveland, File No. 9694.

At Toledo, Ohio:

On May 11, 1923, the film, "Russia Through the Shadows", was shown at the Auditorium Theater at Toledo, Ohio. A little over six hundred (600) tickets were sold, and in addition to that, an amount of over \$200.00 was secured.

THE WORKERS PARTY leaders who handled the affair or the Friends of Soviet Russia, were very much concerned for the reason that they feared the public would not patronize the Theater, and leave them in debt. They claimed, however, that they were more than \$300.00 ahead.

The picture itself, according to those present, did not seem much out of the ordinary. The address apparently did not meet with approval, although the speaker was very guarded in what he said, apparently realizing that he had to keep within the law or have trouble.

JAMES P. CANNON was scheduled to address the meeting after the show, but from the information we have, he saw that there was an unfriendly sentiment and that the spectators were not in sympathy with the Communist movement, and he, thereupon, refused to address the meeting. He later visited the headquarters of the WORKERS PARTY, and there claimed

## REFERENCE:

Mr. Hoover-2

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FILE NO.

61-682-24

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO:

FILE

REC'D. RE

JUN 21 1923

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

MAY 9 1923

JVR:WL

Agent J. V. Ryan

5/22/'23

#2

In re: JAMES P. CANNON- National Chairman, Workers Party of America.  
Activities at Toledo, Ohio, May 11, 1923. .

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that Eugene Debs, Upton Sinclair and Scott Nearing would be under the WORKERS' PARTY flag within the year. He left Toledo the same night without disclosing his destination.

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Kansas City, Mo.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>June 17, 1923</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>June 17, 1923</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>L. E. MILLER</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>JAMES P. CANNON</b>		<b>Radical Meeting.</b>	
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>8/8/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 MAC/DA</u> <u>SP-6 AG/CH</u> <b>MAR 4 1998</b></p>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>U.S.C. 10226. Attention Mr. Hoover-2.</b>			
<b>At Franklin, Kansas.</b>			
<p>With reference to telegram from Agent in Charge EBERSTEIN, dated June 14, 1923, requested Agent to attend Red meeting Sunday June 17, 1923, at 2 PM Franklin, Ks, reading:</p> <p>"If possible arrange have Miller attend Red meeting Franklin Kansas Sunday two PM."</p> <p>Agent on this date June 17, 1923 attended Red Meet- ing at Franklin, Kansas and JAMES P. CANNON gave a speech on conditions in Russia as he saw them while on his 7 months stay in Russia.</p> <p>JAMES P. CANNON made the following speech to an audience of 800 people at Franklin, Ks, at 3:15 P.M. Sunday 6/17/23.</p> <p>"The workers can only gain freedom thru battle, some people have suffered more than you, but now they rule the country.</p> <p>Labor should have a political party of their own, when I tell you something about Soviet Russia, and what the workers there have accomplished, some of you who are discouraged will take hold the story of the Russian Revolution will never grow old because each year adds something new, during the first five years of the Revolution Soviet Russia went thru the shadows but now we can see a brighter day.</p> <p>Commander Lenine in his speech to Congress International since his recent illness said, Russia is now living in peace under the Red Flag.</p> <p>Before the Revolution the street car system belonged to Russian</p>			
REFERENCE:		<p>FILE NO. <b>61-682-24720</b></p> <p>BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION</p> <p>DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE</p> <p>ROUTED TO: FILE</p>	
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2 Washington 2 N Y, 2 Denver, 2 Chicago		<p>100-101-14-X26</p>	

Capitalists and Russia was the field of exploitation. But now every thing belongs to the Workers and there has been much political improvement in Russia, one actual revolution is worth a thousand theories the revolution plans didn't fit the theories, but the Revolution was staged and a very practically people and were the pioneers of the revolution of that country and have made mistakes but will never make the mistake of allowing a country to be run by the Capitalists again, that is a mistake of this and others countries make.

The landlord system has been done away with. The Russian peasants get all they make but 10% which is the tax. The state owns the big mines and industries, but privately owned enterprises are allowed to exist much the same as in America.

The big Russian problem of today is the heavy industries. Last year all state appropriations were cut, even the schools to help the big industries, the state controls all basic industries and there is no danger of smaller capitalists becoming a menace because the Workers control the Govt and there is no danger of the workers losing the Govt because only the workers have the right to vote. When you go into business over there you lose your citizenship.

If the smaller industries get too large the Government can take care of that, a heavier tax will stop their growth, or it might call out the troops or get an injunction. You can do lots of things when you have the Govt on your side, they took out an injunction against the Capitalist five years ago and that was enough.

Strikes are discouraged because they stop production and the workers there are more closely associated with their production. In Russia more production means more wages, they adopted a slogan there "More production More wages" but I couldn't recommend that slogan for America for the faster you work the faster you lose your job.

The Russian Govt is one of labor, it is a dictatorship for the workers. The American Govt is supposed to be fair, representing the workers and the Capitalists, but in recent labor troubles it has leaned to the Capitalists so far in fact, that it has fallen over and it is not yet straightened up.

The Communist party has its roots deep into labor, 98% are Communists, The trade Union. They report the Red Army there as protection, it means something to be a soldier in Russia. There is a brotherly spirit between the Trade Unions and Red Army in Russia that exists in no other country.

A General in the Red Army appeared in the labor convention and was given a tumultuous reception, quite a contrast to Gen. Wood when he visited the steel strikers at Penn. The Red Army is a new factor in industrial Europe, war consuls cannot meet to divide the world without first considering it.

June 17, 1923

In Petrograd the Red Army paraded carrying Banners and singing the Internationals. They have military strength. Its a fine sight to see the Reds marching along as they passed us they shouted "Long live the Internationals and we shouted back "long live the Red Army."

There is not an army on the European continent that can stand up to the Red army. The personnel has been reduced to 600,000 but that is only the frame work of 5,000,000 trained men. It has been turned into a great school so that every man can read and write. A soldier in Russia is respected in peace and in war.

They do not terroize him when he marches off to battle and then run him up the back alley. In every Red fleet there is a nucleus communism. Stores that are sent to this country by reporters about conditions in America are not true. Reporters cook up stories as they are told by America what they say is not true.

Comrade Trotsky keeps his men well informed on international affairs. During the railroad strike and strike last year I was in Russia and every day men came to my hotel and invited me to address meetings to tell them about the big strikes and the times the American workers were going to strike like they did give years ago.

The Russian Revolution is in the heart of ever rebel worker in the world, it is in America it is in this room, Soviet Russia is not a country, but a Movement and when the workers of Europe and America join the movement, it will be the end of capitalism.

We hope to group all labor organizations under one head for the next election. When Wilson was in it was controlled by the Capitalists and when Harding came in it was the same way.

Agent's opinion of this meeting is that he believes this man CANNON is trying to get the different members of the Reds to try and over throw our Govt. When asked a question as to whether he thinks Russia will go on strike again, he stated that he could not advise as to that question, but stated that he hoped that it would strike.

Undeveloped Leads: For information of Denver office, JAMES P. CANNON will speak there about June 20, 1923.

Chicago, Ill, CANNON will speak June 26, 1923--N.Y. City, Cannon lives on West 11th st, Greenwich Village, near 9th Ave, will give lecturer Liberty Hall 65 st, June 30, 1923.

LEM-m

Closed



453 C

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

JOURNAL MEMORANDUM

Date June 17, 1923 Office Kansas City, Missouri

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

JAMES P. CANNON

Radical Meeting

Origin of Case Kansas City, Missouri Date June 17, 1923

Local Office No. 10226 Bureau No. 61-682 Other Office No. \_\_\_\_\_

Assigned to Special Agent L.E. Miller Date June 17, 1923

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Reassigned to Special Agent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

STATUS OF CASE

Referred to U. S. Attorney \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. Comm. Warrants Issued \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of commissioner.)

Preliminary Hearing \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Continued Hearings \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Presented to Grand Jury \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Indictment Returned \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Arraignment and Plea \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Set for Trial \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of judge, court, and place.) Date \_\_\_\_\_

Court Verdict \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: Closed K.C. Mo.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/DB  
DATE 10/2/01 BY SP-6 AG/CH

NOTE.—This form is to be filled in by typewriter or ink.

7-1256

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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100-159214

DO

61-682

9

REPORT MADE AT: 453d, Denver, Colorado.	DATE WHEN MADE: 6-20-23.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 6-19-23.	REPORT MADE BY: Edgar Cathcart MFM.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: JAMES P. CANNON, Communist Lecturer.			X Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution.
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Denver, Colorado. Upon instructions from Agent in Charge McAfee, Agent covered a lecture delivered at 8.30 o'clock on the night of June 19th, 1923 at the Grace Methodist Community Church, 13th and Bannock Streets this city, by the above named subject. There were about 250 persons present, 15 of whom were women and although there was a number of American Legion members present there was no heckling or interruption of the speaker. The Reverend George F. Lackland, pastor, presided as Chairman and presented the speaker, Mr. JAMES P. CANNON. There was an admission charged and copies of the lecture were sold. Agent purchased a copy which covered the lecture delivered at Grace church and this copy or booklet is attached to copies of this report being sent the Bureau office at Washington instead of repeating the lecture in this report. The only applause given was when he referred to the red soldier as not being heroized when marched off to battle and chased up a back alley when he comes home etc. (See last paragraph on page 16 and first paragraph on page 17). Mr. Cannon kept within the law but his sympathies are plainly with the Soviet Government of Russia.			
<div style="text-align: right;"> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/DB MAR 1996 SP-6 AG/CH </div>			
REFERENCE: Approved Special Agent in Charge		COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 3-Washington 1-Denver 100-159214-X27 7-1169	

REPORT MADE AT: <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>7/3/23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>7/3/23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>A. A. HOPKINS/N</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>JAMES P. CANNON - National Chairman, Workers Party of America - COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.</b>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>At Los Angeles, Cal.</b>			
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>9/9/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 mac/ST</u> Attention Mr. Hoover -#2 Los Angeles File 181/133</p> <p><b>JAMES P. CANNON</b>, National Chairman of the Workers Party, spoke Sunday and Monday at Blanchard Hall, collected \$475.00 for the so-called Free Speech Fight, and left for San Francisco. He speaks in Oakland at Machinists Hall, 11th and Clay Streets, this evening. Then he jumps to Tacoma. <b>WILLIAM Z. FOSTER</b> is to be the next Communist speaker in Los Angeles. FOSTER is scheduled to appear in this city in the last part of August. CANNON spoke Sunday on the Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile. He said America is hated by all the Republics of Central and South America for its imperialistic Monroe Doctrine. That is why Peruvian, Bolivian and Mexican delegates refused to attend the conference. Monday, he spoke of the 4th Communist Congress, declaring that Soviet Russia, in the next three years, will have 10,000 Red airplanes carrying propaganda throughout Europe and some in America.</p> <p>CANNON joyfully told the audience of the Communist victory in the Pennsylvania anthracite coal fields. "District One, United Mine Workers of America, have elected <b>RINALDO CAPPELLINI</b> of 14 Chamberlain Street, Plainsville, Pa., to president of that district. 27,000 votes cast were for CAPALLINI and 15,000 for BRENNAN."</p>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington-3 File-1 San Francisco-1 Seattle-1 New York-1 Chicago-1 <b>100-159214-X28</b>		

FILE NO. <b>68-2-48</b>	RECORDED <b>JUL 23 1923</b>
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	GENERAL INTELLIGENCE <b>JUL 13 1923</b>
ROUTED TO:	FILE

IN RE: JAMES P. CANNON - Communist Activities.

CAPPELLINI is a Red and was coached by the Trades Union Educational League. CANNON claims that this is the biggest blow against the Steel Trust.

APPROVED  
*Leon Bone*  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Seattle, Washington**

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:

**Seattle, Wash**

DATE WHEN MADE:

**July 9, '23**

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

**July 6&7**

REPORT MADE BY:

**Conf. Inf.**  

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

**JAMES P. CANNON, Agitator for W.P.****: Communist Activities**

FACTS DEVELOPED:

**Seattle File No. 15942-5-G****AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON:**

According to Informant's opinion, the two mass meetings held at the local Labor Temple on the evenings of July 6 and 7 and which were addressed by subject, were not much of a success.

The proceeds from these two lectures will be used for propaganda, and Informant is advised that \$300 was realized.

Continued.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 mac/BO  
MAR 4 1996 SP-6 AG/CH

**JUL 26 1923**

GENERAL INVESTIGATION

**JUL 19 1923**

DIVISION

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO.

~~**61-682-100**~~

RECORDED

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO:

FILE

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

**Bureau-3**

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

7-1169

ATTENTION MR. COOVER

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

Butte, Montana.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Butte, Montana.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>7-14-23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>7/9-14/23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>D. H. Dickason</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>JAMES P. CANNON - Lecturer : Workers Party of America</b>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <p style="text-align: right;">#24 File 4948</p> <p>At Butte, Montana.</p> <p>Pursuant to advertisement in the BUTTE BULLETIN dated July 6th but not issued until July 9th, JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman Workers Party of America, spoke here July 11, 1923. The attendance was between 45 and 50 persons and the collection did not exceed \$15.00. The meeting was considered a failure..</p> <p>The following dodger, printed by the BUTTE BULLETIN, 101 South Idaho Street, was circulated which, with the advertisement in the BULLETIN, was the entire advertisement the speaker received:</p> <div style="text-align: center;"><p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>8/8/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 mac/DB</u> MAR 4 1998 SP-6 AG/CH</p><p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p><p>FILE NO. <u>61-682-30</u> RECORDED BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION JUL 16 1923 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ROUTED TO: FILE <u>[Signature]</u> AUG 2 1923</p><p>100-159214-X30</p></div>			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Butte, -Spokane, -Pocatello, -Portland, -Seattle, - Wa.-3</b>		

DOCKETED

MB

"RUSSIA TODAY  
After 5 Years of Labor  
Revolution  
Hear Jas. P. Cannon  
National Chairman Workers Party of America  
After Spending Seven Months in Russia Knows  
The Truth About Russian Industry, Trade Unions  
And The Red Army

AT  
Carpenters' Union Hall  
West Granite St. Third Floor

Wednesday, July 11, 1923

8 P.M.

ADMISSION 25 c  
Which Includes a 20 Week Subscription to The  
Worker - a Six-Page Workers Paper."

There was no commend in the local papers.

Unless further information be received or re-  
quest be made, this matter will be considered at this time

Closed.

Attention Mr. Hoover

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Portland, Ore.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>7/14/23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>7/3-4/23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>P E Marrinan</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>JAMES P. CANNON</b> <b>National Chairman</b> <b>COMMUNIST.</b> <b>WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA</b>			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <b>At Portland:</b> <b>MAR 4 1998 SP-6 AG/KH</b> <b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED</b> <b>HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b> <b>DATE 8/8/90 BY SP-7 MAC/RS</b> <b>File #9559-3</b> <b>With reference to this agent's report dated</b> <b>June 11, 1923, entitled JAMES A. CANNON.</b>  <b>On the night of July 3 the above named subject, alleged to</b> <b>have been a delegate from the United States to the Third International</b> <b>at Moscow, Russia, and who states that he spent seven months in Russia,</b> <b>engaged in investigating conditions of the Soviet Government, delivered</b> <b>an address to an audience of approximately 300 persons in the Audi-</b> <b>torium of the Portland Women's Club Building at 448 Taylor Street. The</b> <b>audience was almost 100 per cent foreign. There was a small sprinkling</b> <b>of negroes in the audience. Outside of the speaker, not a word of pure</b> <b>English was spoken in the hall during the entire evening. An admission</b> <b>fee of 25 cents was charged, and later a collection was taken up from</b> <b>which \$55. was secured.</b>  <b>Subject (the speaker) confined himself to the subject of the</b> <b>Russian Revolution, the Soviet Government and present conditions in</b> <b>Russia and its relation to conditions</b> <b>throughout the world. He sarcastically</b> <b>flaunted the fact that the Soviet</b> <b>Government had repudiated the foreign</b> <b>obligations of the old government and</b> <b>REFERENCE:</b> <b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:</b> <b>100-121-11-121</b>			

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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had confiscated foreign property; stating further that the Communist program had not yet been carried out in its entirety in Russia and as a means to that end it was necessary to make certain concessions to foreign capitalists until the country became more firmly established on an economic basis, and inferred that when the time comes, these foreign concessions will be confiscated by the Soviet Government.

He carefull avoided direct advocacy of armed revolution in the United States, but advocated International Revolution of the workers against Capitalism, stating that the Russian Revolution was only a step in the world revolution.

Stating further:- "The present Communist Government of Russia is far superior to the Capitalist Government of the United States.

"Those who control the economic situation in Russia are also in control of the political situation and use their political power to suppress capitalism, as the political power of other countries is used to suppress workers.

"The right to vote in Russia is limited to the workers and denied to others, just as, in other countries, it is limited to capitalists and denied to workers. When a worker saves a few rubles and becomes a business man (a cockroach capitalist) he loses his citizenship.

"I attended all the sessions of the Third International. I was present when General Budensky was called before the Convention. General Budensky is not an orator. Coming before the Convention, he stood at attention, saluted, and said to the Convention 'Give us your orders and we will carry them out'.

"The Red soldier is the soldier of the worker, and for the first time in the history of the world the workers of Russia have a Workers Army. Their soldiers are respected in war and peace. - When you contrast this with the soldier of other countries who are heroes during war, but during peace you find them going up our back alley looking for a handout.

"Every man in the Red Army is a Communist Propagandist and the greatest aid that America can extend to Russia is to organize the workers along the same lines. All revolutions are destructive, must be from their very nature, but the ultimate goal is worth the temporary misery that is caused.

"Wages have not yet reached the pre-war level in Russia, but the Government owns the land and the homes, and only a small rental is charged so that in the main the worker is as well off as when he received the war-time wage.

"The Soviet Government practices Capitalism as a temporary expedient until the country is on a firmer economic basis.

"Again, the Government owns all land and collects rent and taxes from the peasants that occupy the land.

"Every factory that does not pay is shut down and the workers shifted to other employment.

"Russia welcomed BILL HAYWOOD as a refugee from a capitalistic Government.

"None of the strikes that have occurred in the United States have been real strikes. They are mere attempts. The Russian Revolution was a real strike.

"Some people and organizations (IWW) call themselves Revolutionists and assert their demands for direct action but that is as far as it goes, and I want to point to the real revolutionists,- those who made the sacrifice together, until today they present to the world a Government controlled by the workers, for the workers.. The peasantry of Russia, and those persons and organizations that desire revolution and direct action, should join the Big Strike."

The speaker was just a little more conservative than the average speaker and in this respect was somewhat of a disappointment to his audience. His speech was a departure from the usual radical speech in at least one respect. He advocated the combined use of economic pressure and political control by the workers as the best means of accomplishing their ends. He frankly stated that the workers should gain and hold control of the government and use it for their own selfish purposes in destroying capitalism and establishing Communism.

The present program of the Communist Party is to unite all radical elements in the United States in the proposed "Farmer - Labor" Party and make an effort to gain political attention in this manner.

This speaker again addressed an audience on July 4 at Rohse's Park that was scantily attended and from report agent would believe that his address was similar to the address made on the night of July 3.

Matter OPEN.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

Spokane, Wash.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: <b>Spokane, Wash.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>7/16/23</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>7/11/23</b>	REPORT MADE BY: <b>E. E. Conroy</b>
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <b>JAMES P. CANNON</b> : Organizer American Branch : of the Russian Communists.			
FACTS DEVELOPED:  <b>#1287</b>  <u>At Spokane, Wn:</u>  The following article has come to the notice of this office, which was printed in the Spokane Press on the above date:-  "BOLSHEVIKI PUT PENS TO CARDS Now Full-Fledged Members of "Workers' Party"  Fifty Spokane bolshevists signed up as members of the workers' party, American branch of the Russian communists, at Turner hall Tuesday night. This followed a speech by James P. Cannon, just returned from Russia, who predicted that Germany will go bolshevik eventually and that Germany and Russia will then dominate Europe. "When that time comes Russia, now unrecognized by the other nations of the world, may refuse to recognize the capitalists' governments," Cannon opined."			
<div style="text-align: right;"> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>8/8/90</u> BY <u>SP-7 mac/ld</u> MAR 4 1996 SP-6 AG/ld </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 200px;"> GENERAL INTELLIGENCE  JUL 25 1923 </div> <div style="text-align: right;"> AUG 3 1923 DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 200px;"> FILE NO. <u>67-682-31</u> BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  ROUTED TO: FILE <u>idk/3</u> </div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> 100-159214-X32 </div>			
REFERENCE: <b>Mr. Hoover-2</b>	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Wn-3 Portland-1 Butte-1 Seattle-1</b> <b>Chicago-1 New York-1 file-3</b>		

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

7-1169

April 30, 1941

JAMES J. CANNON, ALIAS JAMES J. COOK

The following information has been obtained from an outside unknown source dated at New York, New York, March 28, 1941, and is being made a part of the Bureau's files for any attention that might be deemed appropriate in the future.

The alias used by James J. Cannon, who was at one time a leader of the Communist Party and was National Secretary of the International Labor Defense, has always been James J. Cook. When Cannon was expelled from the Communist Party in 1939, he joined the Trotskyite faction and started publishing "The Militant" with the assistance of Bertram Wolfe.

Cannon is said to be a good newspaperman and for a number of years has been secretly on the payroll of the United Press and the Scripps-Howard group. This fact is not generally known and should not be made public. It is said that Cannon is the one who gives the Scripps-Howard newspapers the inside stories on Communist affairs.

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100-159014-1  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
2 MAY 1941  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
HARRIS  
HARRIS

91

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

404 New York Building  
Saint Paul, Minnesota  
August 14, 1941

#100-1685

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 mac/RS  
ON 8/8/90

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: JAMES P. CANNON  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

CONFIDENTIAL

There is being enclosed herewith memorandum containing data for consideration in connection with the custodial detention records as to the above named subject.

CANNON is the recognized leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, with headquarters at 116 University Place, New York City. He was indicted on July 15, 1941 at St. Paul, Minnesota, charged with conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force, and according to the records in the office of the United States District Court Clerk, St. Paul, Minnesota, he was released on \$2,500. bond in New York City July 25, 1941, probably after arrest by the United States Marshal, New York City. He is to appear for arraignment at Minneapolis on August 11, 1941.

The information contained in the attached memorandum is not the subject of a separate investigation as to JAMES P. CANNON, but consists of data extracted from the above file which is entitled, "JAMES P. CANNON, et al., Socialist Workers Party, w.a.; Internal Security (R), St. Paul File #100-1246, wherein New York is the office of origin. No separate file has previously been opened as to this subject, but one is now being opened in the St. Paul Office to record the data submitted herewith, and will thereafter be closed as further information concerning CANNON will be reported in the case wherein prosecution has been instituted.

Very truly yours,

S. W. Hardy,

S. W. HARDY  
Special Agent in Charge

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DATE MAR 4 1996 BY SP-6 AG/CH

encl.  
c/c E.J. Connelley, N.Y.

100-159214-2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 AUG 18 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

Donahoe

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE FEB 20 1996 BY SP-6 AC/CH

JAMES P. CANNON  
116 University Place (Business)  
New York City, N.Y. (7/21/41)

COMMUNIST

Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See For Serial  
Form 4-774

JAMES P. CANNON is the recognized head of the Trotskyite Communist movement in the United States under the name of the Socialist Workers Party. He has been frequently referred to as the dictator of the Party in the United States. His residence address is not available at the present time. He is believed to be a citizen although he has spent some time in Russia. CANNON is between 50 and 55 years of age.

CANNON is the leader in the United States of the Trotskyites. CANNON has been heard to say at one time in New York City in connection with some trouble he was having at some women's jail or reformatory, "The first thing we do when we take over the Government, we are going to take that jail apart." (JAMES BARTLETT, 2926 Knox Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Page 23, Summary report of Special Agent R. T. Noonan, St. Paul, dated June 26, 1941, St. Paul file #100-1246.)

4-25-41  
61-10528-30  
p. 18

JAMES CANNON appeared on one or two occasions and spoke at Socialist Workers Party meetings in Minneapolis, Minnesota telling of the Party program, and at one time made the remark that he had travelled to France fourteen times. (Mrs. VIOLET WILLIAMS, 1220 LaSalle Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Page 30, Summary Report of Special Agent R. T. Noonan, St. Paul, Dated June 26, 1941, St. Paul file #100-1246.)

5-6-41  
61-10528-44  
p. 10

At one time at a Socialist Workers Party meeting, CANNON set a quota of \$2,500 to be raised to help the Socialist Workers Party overthrow the French Government. (GEORGE O'BRIEN, 1316 Aldrich Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Page 61, Summary Report of Special Agent R. T. Noonan, St. Paul, dated June 26, 1941, St. Paul File #100-1246.)

June 1941  
61-10528-50  
p. 61

CANNON has published a pamphlet known as "Leon Trotsky Memorial Address," and bears the further title, "To the Memory of the Old Man." This was a speech delivered August 28, 1940 at a Trotsky memorial meeting in New York City by JAMES CANNON. In this pamphlet, in referring to whether or not the disciples of Trotsky would be able to carry out his testament to a victory of the Fourth International, he writes, "Without the slightest hesitation, we give an affirmative answer to this question." On Page 3 of this pamphlet is also the following, "The mighty ideas of Trotsky are our program and our banner." Also on Page 3 is this statement, "In a letter to me, he once wrote (referring to Trotsky) that we work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world with inadequate numerical forces and material means."

Include  
all this

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100-159214-2 153 JUL 6 1960

On Page 6 of this pamphlet is the following, "His deeds are incorporated in the greatest revolution in the history of mankind- - - -he not only made a revolution, he wrote its history and explained the basic laws which govern all revolutions. In his history of the Russian revolution, he gave us a guide for the making of a new revolution, or rather, his extending throughout the world a revolution that began in October, 1917." Additional data appears to the effect that Trotsky was only following out the ideas of Marx and Engels. The following is expressed on Page 7, "Indeed, our movement in the United States took shape and grew up on his ideas without his physical presence." On Page 11 of the pamphlet is the following, "A delegation of party leaders made a visit to Mexico, which turned out to be our last visit - - - - - we collected money in this country to fortify the house at the cost of thousands of dollars. All our members and sympathizers responded with great sacrifice. - - - - - (On Page 12) At the hour Comrade Trotsky was finally struck down, I was returning by train from a special journey to Minneapolis. I had gone there for the purpose of arranging for new and especially qualified comrades to go down and strengthen the guard at Coyocacan. - - - - - The old man is dead. Even then we didn't permit ourselves to stop for weeping; we plunged immediately into the work to defend his memory and carry out his testament. - - - - - (Page 15) But ours is not the grief of prostitution, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the old man's fight in a manner worthy of his disciples like good soldiers of Trotsky's army - - - - - with the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International - the International Party that shall be the human race.

*include*

From above pamphlet; 61-10528-94



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DATE FEB 21 1981 BY SP-6 AGC/1

Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 4-774

CANNON, JAMES PATRICK  
with alias: JAMES P. CANNON  
JAMES COOK  
REDWELL

(NATIVE BORN)

COMMUNIST.

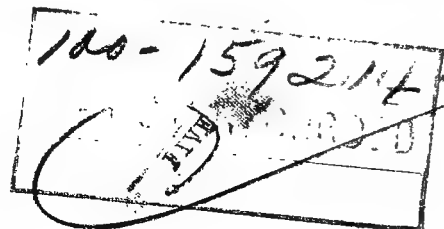
Searched 9-12-41

116 University Place 11-12-41  
New York City, New York

Born in Rosedale Kansas. Father and mother born in England. Editor and manager of the Workers World, Kansas City, previously edited by Earl and Will Browder who were sent to Leavenworth. Member of the left wing of the Socialist Party. Stated, "The left wing believes in the overthrow of Capitalism." (Signed statement of James P. Cannon; 7-25-19; O.G. 56124)

The following information is contained in The American Labor Who's Who for 1925; Ass't. exec. sec. Workers Party of America; Chairman central executive Committee since organization 1921; political committee since organization in 1921. Born February 11, 1890, Kansas City, Kansas. Father a foundry worker. Public high school, Kansas City; Kansas City Law College. R.R. Worker; hotel worker; agitator; labor organizer; lecturer; editor. Member Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America. Central executive committee Communist Party 1920 till merge with Workers Party. Represented Workers Party on executive committee of Communist International 1922. Author: The Fifth Year of the Russian Revolution, pamphlet 1923. (The American Labor Who's Who, 1925, published by the Hanford Press, N.Y.C.; F.B.I. Library)

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In 1919 District Secretary for the Communist Labor Party for the territory embracing Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. (Special Agent C.E. Argabright; 11-22-19; O.G. 56124)

In 1919 charged with conspiracy to violate the Lever Act and committed to jail in default of \$15000 bond. (Bureau Division Superintendent Bagley; 12-18-19; O.G. 56124)

Has sister by the name of Mrs. Agnes Clarke, Rosedale, Kansas who received radical literature for him in 1920 during the Coal Strike in Kansas. (Signed statement of Mrs. Agnes Clarke, Rosedale, Kansas; 4-29-20; O.G. 56124)

As member of I.W.W. addressed a meeting at the I.W.W. Hall, New York City on August 8, 1921 and asked the I.W.W. to show their spirit by being true, class conscious revolutionists, by working with all their might for the overthrow of the Capitalist governments here and all over the world. (Confidential informant [redacted] New York City; 8-13-21; 186701-136-4)

Party name Redwell in 1921. (Confidential Informant [redacted] of the New York City Field Division; 9-23-21; 202600-549-64)

In a speech at Parkview Palace, New York City in 1921 stated that the Workers

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League was out to make or try to make a secure Soviet Republic in America. (Confidential Informant [REDACTED], New York City; 11-4-21; 61-173-26)

Elected chairman of the Workers' Party December 8, 1921 at Convention in New York City. (Special Agent J.G. Tucker; 11-8-21; 61-23-48)

In a secret meeting held at Irish American Labor League Hall, 250 West 25th St., New York City on November 18, 1921 explained that the Communist Party had gone underground because the Capitalist class and the Government was trying to clean it out and stated the Communist should be in every fight of the workers and at all time lead the masses which could not be done if the Party was underground. (Confidential Informant [REDACTED], New York City; 11-18-21; 61-179-12)

Represented American Labor Alliance in the organization of the Workers' Party of America in New York City in December of 1921. (Francis Ralston Welsh, 109-111 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia, Penn.; 11-21-21; 61-105-15)

As member of the American Labor Alliance active in organizing the Workers Party of America. (L.A. Stringham, Natural Metal Trades Ass'n., N.Y.C.; 12-1-21; 61-167-13)

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Chairman of the Workers Party Joint Convention at Philadelphia on December 15, 1921 as representative of the American Labor Alliance. (Minutes of the Workers Party Joint Convention (copy in file); 12-15-21; 61-167-128)

Addressed convention of American Labor Alliance at Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City, in 1921, stating that the convention was called to unify all revolutionary elements. (Confidential Informant [REDACTED] 12-24-21; 61-826-X16)

At a meeting January 29, 1922 at Mercantile Hall, Kansas City, Missouri, stated that the purpose of the Workers' Party was to unite the radical elements in the U.S. into one great party; that they must work within the trade unions; and that when they have power and strength they will strike as they struck in Russia. Also praised Russia and spoke concerning the struggle of the Capitalist against the working man and declared Communism was their only alternative, else the destruction of civilization. (Special Agent Donald E. Long; 1-30-22; 61-682-1)

Indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at Kansas City, Missouri, during the nation wide Coal strike in 1922, being charged with radical activities in the coal fields at Pittsburg, Kansas. On January 23, 1922 a demurrer to the indictment was sustained and Cannon was released. (S.A. Oscar Schmitz; 1-30-22; 61-682-2)

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As chairman of the Workers' Party of America, urged all locals and branches of the party to hold May Day demonstrations on May 1, 1922. (Mimeographed letter in file; 3-16-22; 61-818-189)

Member of the Advisory Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia. (Pamphlet in file entitled "The Russian Famine"; 4-23-22; 61-1574-1)

Active in the I.W.W. until the formation of the Communist Party. Was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and active in its underground movement. Was later elected Chairman of the Workers' Party. Party name, James Cook. (Confidential Informant [REDACTED], New York City; 5-15-22; 61-443-201)

On June 13, 1922 at the 4th Congress of the 3rd International, Moscow, Russia was elected as an alternate to the presidium of the enlarged Committee of the Communist International. Under the alias, Cook was elected to a committee to elaborate the program of the Communist International. (S.A. Jacob Spolansky; 7-10-41; 61-16-99)

In charge of all industrial work of the Communist Party. (Confidential Informant [REDACTED], New York City; 7-22-22; 61-167-992)

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In June 1922 under the alias of Cook took part in the preliminary meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International in Moscow as representative for North America. Was also elected to the International Commission which was to make preparations for the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. (Office of the Secret Police Section of the Foreign Office, American Embassy, Berlin, Germany; 7-27-22; 61-682-8)

Member of the Praesidium of the Comintern and of the Red Trade International. (Letter of C.L. Wheat, exec. sec'y Communist Party of America; 8-11-22; 61-37-34)

Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party. (Confidential Informant [redacted], New York Office; 11-11-22; 61-817-476)

Member of executive Committee of Friends of Soviet Russia. (Letterhead of Friends of Soviet Russia, photostatic copy in file; 11-28-22; 61-3726-4)

At 2nd Annual Convention of the Workers' Party held on December 24, 1922 at the Labor Temple, East 84th Street, New York City was elected to the Central Executive Committee. (S.A. Joseph G. Tucker; 12-30-22; 61-23-204)

Under letterhead of Workers' Party, James P. Cannon, National Chairman, a

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letter was sent to all Party branches stating that the Party now had a Communist program and announcing the distribution of a million copies of this program. (Mimeographed letter of Workers' Party signed by C. Ruthenberg, executive secretary (letter in file); 1-8-23; 61-10528-3X)

At Laisters Hall, Lynn, Massachusetts, March 4, 1923, stated Russia must be freed from the so-called blockade enforced upon her by the bourgeoisie countries of the world and that it therefore behooved the workers of America, as well as the workers of other capitalistic countries, not only to organize to help the Communist Government of Russia, but to organize powerfully in their respective countries to control the affairs in their own countries so that the workers may be in a position to establish an international working and ruling class to cooperate with Soviet Russia. Also urged the workers of America to stand by Soviet Russia and for the principles of Communism. (Confidential Informant [redacted] of the Boston Field Division; 3-4-23; 61-682-15)

Under letterhead of Workers' Party of America, James P. Cannon, National Chairman, all distinct organizers, federation secretaries, City Central Committees and Party branches were urged to hold a United Front May Day Demonstration on May 1, 1923. (Photostatic copy of letter of Workers' Party of America; 3-14-23; 61-3726-4)

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In a speech at Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, on March 18, 1923, described his recent visit to Russia and stated: ".....We were also told to say to the representatives of the Proletariat of the various countries when we returned home, that the Red Army are your brothers and that you can depend upon the Red Army at the proper time to fight with you against the capitalist class." Then with his face all smiles stated: "I wish to call your attention to something which we all noticed and spoke of. Upon the hundreds of gun carriages that passed by we saw the letters U.S.A." (Special Agent Charles A. Bancroft; 3-18-23; 61-167-1706)

On March 23, 1923 a petition was filed with the Attorney General requesting the prosecution of Cannon and others under Section 5, Criminal Code of 1910. Cannon was charged with being Chairman of the Communist Workers' Party of America and as having spent six months in Russia as delegate to the Communist International. (Special Agent John T. Flournoy ; 3-23-23; 61-45-59)

On March 27 and 28, 1923 at Worcester, Massachusetts, addressed mass meetings under the auspices of Friends of Soviet Russia, praising Soviet Russia, condemning capitalists of this country, and advising that the energetic organization of Workers' Party be continued. Stated that after a tour of New York, Penn., and Ohio he expected to return to Russia for six months. (SA Adrian L. Potter; 4-2-23; 61-120-77X)



Addressed meeting held by the Workers' Party of America at Liberty Hall, Washington, D.C., April 4, 1923. Discussed a visit to Russia in June of 1922 stating he conferred with Lenin and Trotsky. Praised Russia and stated the Soviet Government would welcome the recognition of other governments until such time as it could obtain the recognition of the "proletariat of the world", which time was not very far distant as every government had within it a certain element working from an end which would bring this result throughout the world in a very few years. (Special Agent J.T. Flourney, 4-4-23, 61-3762-1X2)

In a speech at the Labor Lyceum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on April 15, 1923, stated: "I don't want to say that the workers of this country will revolt, but it is coming. No one can say what's in the air. You know we can't say what we like to say in this country, and I want to obey the laws." (Special Agent H.J. Lenon from a confidential source; 4-15-23; 61-167-1754)

In a speech on April 23, 1923 at Grdina's Hall, Cleveland, Ohio discussed the Communist set-up in Russia and stated that the Russian leaders told the Americans present at the Fourth International that their energy should be devoted to the organization and support of a powerful Labor Party or Labor Union, and that time and propaganda be spent on the development of class consciousness among the workers of America. (Special Agent A.D. Mehegan; 4-23-23; 61-682-2)

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In a speech at Carmen's Auditorium Chicago, Illinois on May 1, 1923 as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of America and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, urged every trade unionist to get behind William Z. Foster. (S.A. W.W. Stewart; 5-1-23; 61-3551-25)

In speech at Richmond Hall, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 11, 1923, stated he was for seven months a fraternal member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Moscow. (Special Agent John M. Keith; 5-11-23; 61-682-23)

Author of pamphlet entitled "Russia Today-1923" issued by the Workers' Party. (Special Agent Joseph G. Tucker; 5-12-23; 61-23-228)

In speech at Franklin, Kansas, June 17, 1923, stated the Russian Revolution is in the heart of every rebel worker in the world; it is in America. Stated that Soviet Russia is not a country but a movement and when the workers of Europe and America join the movement, it will be the end of Capitalism. (Special Agent L.E. Miller; 6-17-23; 61-682-27)

In speech on July 3, 1923 at Portland, Oregon, advocated international revolution of the workers against Capitalism, stating that the Russian Revolution was only a step in the world revolution. Also stated "The present Communist Government of Russia is far superior to the Capitalistic government of the

United States." (Special Agent P.E. Marrinan; 7-3-23; 61-682-32)

In a meeting at Los Angeles in July of 1923 spoke of the 4 th Communist Congress and declared that Soviet Russia in three years would have 10,000 planes carrying propaganda throughout Europe and some in America. Joyfully told the audience of the Communist victory in a Pennsylvania anthracite coal field election. (Special Agent A.A. Hopkins; 7-3-23; 61-682-28)

With Robert Minor requested seating at the Industrial Workers of the World Convention at Chicago, Illinois, November 12, 1923 as a delegate of the Red International of Labor Unions. Also requested the Convention to elect a delegate to the next convention of the Red International at Moscow. (Letter signed by Cannon and Minor as reprinted in the Minutes of the I.W.W. Convention at Chicago, Illinois; 11-12-23 (Minutes in file); 11-13-23; 61-1225-74 p.8)

Upon being denied seating at Industrial Workers of World Convention at Chicago, Illinois, November 12. 1923 a cablegram was dispatched from the Executive Bureau of the Red International at Moscow authorizing Cannon and Minor to speak in behalf of the International. (Letter signed by Cannon and Minor as reprinted in the Minutes of the I.W.W. Convention at Chicago, Illinois, 11-12-23 (Minutes in file); 11-15-23; 61-1225-74 p.32)

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In a speech before the Industrial Workers of the World Convention at Chicago, Illinois, November 12, 1923, referred to the organizing of a Communist Party and to having it and the I.W.W. fight the Syndicalist laws in the U.S. Also invited a debate of Communist Activities with the I.W.W. and requested that the I.W.W. send delegates to the Red International to be held in Moscow. (Special Agent Kahn; 11-15-23; 61-1225-70 p.3)

National Chairman of the Workers' Party of America in 1923. (Letterhead of Workers' Party of America; 12-1-23; 61-5047-48)

Elected to Central Executive Committee of Workers' Party in 1924. (Booklet "The Second Year of the Workers' Party of America", published by Literature Dep't of the Workers' Party of America, 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, Illinois; 1-2-24; 61-7559-10138)

In a speech at Richmond Falls, Minneapolis, Minnesota on February 3, 1924 stated the Communist Party must become a militant organization and that each worker should prepare himself, join the Workers' Party, bore from within, and when the time comes take up arms and fight and destroy for the purpose of ultimately obtaining his desires. (Special Agent John M. Keith; 2-3-24; 61-4937-9)

With William Z. Foster and other members of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of America requested the Executive Committee of the

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Communist International to recall a John Pepper. (Copy of letter in file; 3-27-24; 61-330-178)

In a speech at the North Side Turner Hall, Chicago, Illinois on April 13, 1924 stated that he wished that every Communist would endeavor to get as many members as possible to join the ranks, and in a short time they would be able to overthrow this Capitalist country--the United States Government. (Special Agent Earl E. Titus; 4-13-24; 61-3963-30)

A member of a Committee of four consisting of Jay Lovestone, Charles E. Ruthenberg, and William Z. Foster appointed in 1924 by the Communist International to supervise the preparation of a platform for all Party work. (Confidential source of Confidential Informant [redacted] of New York City Field Division; 6-16-24; 61-818-567)

Member of a committee to assist Earl Browder in putting out the "Workers' Monthly", publication of the Workers' Party. (Special Agent Joseph G. Tucker; 10-31-24; 61-23-308)

Candidate for governor of New York in 1924 on the Workers' Party ticket. (Special Agent Joseph G. Tucker; 11-30-24; 61-23-309)

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Active in the miners' strike in the coal regions of the U.S. in April 1922. Known as the "paymaster" of the Communists during the strike. Head of the Workers' Party of America at that time and member of the inner circle of both the Workers and Communist parties. Departed at this time for conference with Lenin in Russia. (Booklet entitled "Attempt by Communists to Seize the American Labor Movement", prepared by the United Mine Workers (copy in file); 1924; 61-7562-531X)

Executive Secretary of the International Labor Defense in 1925. (Letterhead of International Labor Defense; 9-9-25; 61-7347-27 p.2)

In a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party on January 4, 1926 a motion was made "that Comrades Bedacht and Cannon be elected as representatives of the C.E.C. to appear before the Convention of the American question and that they be American delegates to the E.C.C.I." (Minutes of the Political Bureau of the C.P.; 1-4-26; 39-915-866 p.7)

Secretary for organizational work in the U.S. military services for the Workers' Party. (Confidential Informant [redacted] of New York City Field Division; 7-26-26; 61-818-703)

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In a speech at Ford Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, January 20, 1927 in commemoration of the third anniversary of the death of Lenin, held under the auspices of the Workers Party of America, stated: "If there are not a hundred thousand Communists now, there will be very soon. Lenin is alive in the New York labor movement; Oh yes, Lenin is alive in sleepy old Boston though you may not know it. Lenin's life should be held up as a model to the world. It was Lenin who was the guide of Sacco and Vanzetti. When you see the best spirits of our labor movement imprisoned, then you see who are following Lenin. Lenin belonged to the revolutionary socialist movement."..... "The capitalist world is led by Mr. Coolidge and the United States. Against them is Leninism and Soviet Russia and this is the struggle today."..... "Function of the U.S. Government is to beat down the working class. This movement in industry in the United States does not belong to us yet. The Federation of Labor is a slave pen. The workers lead miserable, unhappy and uneducated lives. The newspapers are only machines for the capitalists. The military forces, the jails and the judges are all in the interest of the employers class. In this struggle is Lenin in Russia; opposed to him is Coolidge in the U.S.A. Coolidge and Wall Street would enslave the workers of millions of peoples for years to come. That is America's aim led by Mr. Coolidge. In Russia the aim of the other world force is to organize working classes of the world with uprisings and revolutions all over the world- in China, in Mexico, and in India. The aim is to overturn the present system and get control."..... "Communists are the spark which will illuminate the flame which will lighten up all the workers in America.".....

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"But we have a task near at home; our comrades are in prison, our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti. They are in prison for our cause. Don't forget that. I do not mean to tear down the prisons. That would be premature. They will be useful for us to use in the revolution. We will put the bourgeois in them and turn the tables."....."We are working today in China; we are working today with the British coal miners; we are working today in Soviet Russia; we are working today everywhere. Our time will come; America will topple. Our work will bear fruit. We, on this third anniversary of Lenin's death, take up his teachings. Today belongs to capitalism; tomorrow belongs to us." (Commissioner H.A. Jung, National Clay Products Industries Association, Chicago, Illinois; 1-28-27; 61-12299-7)

Spoke at Ford Hall, Boston Massachusetts, January 20, 1927 praising Lenin and stated that the Communists are the spark which will illuminate the flame which will lighten up all the workers in America and that their time will come and America will topple. (Mrs. Mary S. Killiam; Boston, Massachusetts; 1-21-27; 61-4937-39)

Reported that the World Congress of the Mopr was to be held March 18, 1927, and that he had been instructed by cable to attend. (Minutes of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 2-24-27; 39-915-866 p.11)

Presence at the Comintern Executive in 1927 was desired by Moscow. Considered as one of five persons in U.S. who were sufficiently alive and responsible to



make their attendance worth while. (A. Kich, State Department; 5-19-27; 61-167-2530)

Elected to the PolBureau of the Communist Party in 1927. (Minutes of the Central Executive Committee; 9-8-27; 39-915-866 p.23)

Executive Secretary of the International Labor Defense in 1927. (International Labor Defense letter in file; 10-21-27; 61-2608-134)

Signature appears on an "Agreement for the carrying out of the resolution on the American question adopted by the Presidium" which bears the seal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. (Copy of the above agreement; 39-915-866 p.25)

Member of opposition group objecting to the Stalinization of the Communist Party and the departure from the line of Lenin. (The Militant, publication of the Opposition Group in the Workers' Party of America; 2-15-29; 61-5927-19)

Chairman of the Workers' Party in 1929. (Records of Central Mercantile Bank, #1 East 14th Street, New York City; 7-28-29; 61-167-1005)

At the fifth convention of the Workers' Party, September 1-6, 1927, elected to the Central Executive Committee. (American Labor Year Book, 1929,

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published by the Rand School of Social Science, N.Y.C., page 167 F.B.I. Library)

Following is an excerpt from the below named source: "Shortly after his return from the Moscow Congress in 1928, James P. Cannon, a prominent member of the minority on the Central Executive Committee, began preparation to organize an open movement in support of Trotsky and against the administration of the Communist International. He was summarily expelled from the Party on October 27, together with two other members of the Committee, Martin Abern, former secretary of the Young Workers' League, and Max Schachtman, editor of the Labor Defender. (American Labor Year Book, 1929, page 168; F.B.I. Library.)

Outstanding leader of the Communist League of America in 1929. (American Labor Year Book, 1930, page 133, F.B.I. Library)

Expelled from Communist Party. Was one of the founders and principal leaders of the Party. On being expelled founded the Communist League of America. (Fortune Magazine, September 1934;; 61-7559-236X)

Leader of the Spartacus Club, a Trotskyite group, Youngstown, Ohio. (J.M. Woltz, 362 Lora Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio; 1-16-36; 61-79-393)

Member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in California. (N.Y. Times, clipping in file; 8-12-37; 61-7559-1616)

Chairman of a meeting held on August 13, 1937 at Irving Plaza, New York City to protest the lynching of Andres Nin by Stalinist Agents in Spain. (Special Agent George J. Starr; 8-13-37; 61-7559-1616)

Lecturer on "The American Trade Union Movement" at the Marxist School held at 116 University Place, New York City in October, 1937. (Marxist School Announcement, copy in file; October 1937; 61-7558-126X9)

Candidate for Mayor of New York City in 1937 on the Socialist Party (left wing) ticket. (Campaign circular in file; October, 1937; 61-7558-126X9)

Editor of the late "Labor Action". (Socialist Call; 1-1-38; 61-7550-662)

Member of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. (Letterhead; 6-27-38; 61-7559-2904X)

On the editorial staff of the Socialist Appeal. (Circular of the Socialist Appeal contained in file; December 1938; 61-7559-3462X5)

Member of the National Campaign Committee for the Right of Asylum. (International Solidarity, published by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, copy in file, March 1939; 61-7559-3646X3) (Letterhead of National Campaign Committee for the Right of Asylum, letter in file; 3-8-39; 61-7559-3646X3)

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On October 27, 1928 was expelled from the Communist Party for spreading Trotsky's doctrines instead of Stalin's. Then helped form the Communist League of America which in 1934 became known as the Workers' Party of the U.S. and in 1937 adopted the name of the Socialist Workers Party of which Cannon is National Chairman. Was a co-worker with Earl Browder in the Kansas City labor movement from 1914. Stated that if Russia were attacked by the United States, the Socialist Workers' Party would be for Russia. (Geoffrey T. Hellman in "The New Yorker" for 11-16-39 (article in file); 61-7559-6861X)

Leader of Socialist Workers' Party. (Benjamin Stalberg in the N.Y. Herald Tribune; 11-30-39; 100-17826-657)

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party. (Circular in file issued by the Socialist Workers' Party; 12-20-39; 61-7559-6039X1)

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party and owner of stock in the Fourth International Magazine published by this Party. (Application for second class permit, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C.; 5-17-40; 61-10153-1)

Active in campaign to raise funds for defense of Trotsky in Mexico. (Telegram sent by J.P. Cannon; 5-24-40; 65-15465-2)

A solicitor for the Trotsky Defense Fund. (Mimeographed letter and leaflet of

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the Trotsky Defense Fund contained in file; 5-28-40; 61-7559-9519)

Has brother named Phil Cannon in Tulsa, Oklahoma. (Margaret P. Enlow, 915 Pennsylvania Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas; 6-6-40; 75-15149-1)

Editor of the "New Militant" in 1935. Editor in 1936 of the Pacific Coast Socialist paper, "Labor Action". National Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party in 1939 and active in the American revolutionary movement. In 1939 at Socialist Workers' Party Convention spoke in favor of unconditional defense of U.S.S.R. against imperialism. In 1940 member of the editorial board of the "Fourth International", published by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party. (Confidential Informant [redacted] of the San Francisco Field Division; 6-4-41; 65-15465-5)

At the memorial services held for Leon Trotsky at the Hotel Diplomat, New York City, August 28, 1940 commented on the State Department's refusal to admit the body to the U.S. and stated; "We shall nourish that grievance close to our hearts and in good time will take our revenge." (Clipping in file from the N.Y. Herald Tribune; 8-29-1940; 75-29162 A)

In 1927 was a director of the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill. (Corporation Dep't.; Secretary of State's Office; Springfield, Illinois; 10-14-40; 39-915-351)

*Army information is unclassified per their 11/1/90 letter.  
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Now recognized as head of the Fourth International. (C.O. Cornell, secretary to Leon Trotsky and member of Socialist Workers' Party; 11-30-40; 100-4419-22)

When expelled from the Communist Party in 1939, he joined the Trotskyite faction and started publishing "The Militant" with the assistance of Bertram Wolfe. (Confidential Informant [redacted] Pittsburgh; 3-28-41; 61-10528-32X)

Sole national officer of the Socialist Workers' Party with title of National Secretary. (Albert Goldman; 6-25-41; 61-10528-82)

Author of a book entitled "Leon Trotsky." (Special Agent J.W. Mobray; 6-27-41; 61-10528-77 p.5)

On July 15, 1941 at St. Paul, Minnesota, indicted with 28 others on charges of conspiracy to destroy by force the Government of the United States and conspiracy with intent to interfere with, impair, and influence the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the U.S. by advising, counselling, urging and causing insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty. (Special Agent R.T. Noonan; 7-15-41; 61-10528-77)

Was indicted on July 15, 1941 at St. Paul, Minnesota, and was released on \$2500 bond in New York City July 25, 1941. (U.S. District Court Clerk's

records, Saint Paul, Minnesota; 6-25-41; 61-10528-94)

Has been heard to say at one time in New York City in connection with some trouble he was having at some women's jail or reformatory, "The first thing we do when we take over the Government, we are going to take that jail apart." (James Bartlett, 2926 Knox Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota; 4-25-41; 61-1052-30 p. 18)

James Cannon appeared on one or two occasions and spoke at Socialist Workers Party meetings in Minneapolis, Minnesota telling of the Party program, and at one time made the remark that he had travelled to France fourteen times. (Mrs. Violet Williams, 1220 LaSalle Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota; 5-6-41; 61-10528-44 p.10)

At one time at a Socialist Workers Party meeting, Cannon set a quota of \$2,500 to be raised to help the Socialist Workers Party overthrow the French Government. (George O'Brien, 1316 Aldrich Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota; June 1941; 61-10528-50 p.61)

Cannon has published a pamphlet known as "Leon Trotsky Memorial Address," and bears the further title, "To the Memory of the Old Man." This was a speech delivered August 28, 1940 at a Trotsky memorial meeting in New York City



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by James Cannon. In this pamphlet, in referring to whether or not the disciples of Trotsky would be able to carry out his testament to a victory of the Fourth International, he writes, "Without the slightest hesitation, we give an affirmative answer to this question. " On Page 3 of this pamphlet is also the following, "The mighty ideas of Trotsky are our program and our banner." Also on Page 3 is this statement, "In a letter to me, he once wrote (referring to Trotsky) that we work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world with inadequate numerical forces and material means." On Page 6 of this pamphlet is the following, "His deeds are incorporated in the greatest revolution in the history of mankind-----he not only made a revolution, he wrote its history and explained the basic laws which govern all revolutions. In his history of the Russian revolution, he gave us a guide for the making of a new revolution, or rather, his extending throughout the world a revolution that began in October, 1917." Additional data appears to the effect that Trotsky was only following out the ideas of Marx and Engels. The following is expressed on Page 7, "Indeed, our movement in the United States took shape and grew up on his ideas without his physical presence." On Page 11 of the pamphlet is the following, "A delegation of party leaders made a visit to Mexico, which turned out to be their last visit-----we collected money in this country to fortify the house at the cost of thousands of dollars. All our members and sympathizers responded with great sacrifice.----- (On Page 12) At the hour Comrade



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Trotsky was finally struck down, I was returning by train from a special journey to Minneapolis. I had gone there for the purpose of arranging for new and especially qualified comrades to go down and strengthen the guard at Coyacacan.----- The old man is dead. Even then we didn't permit ourselves to stop for weeping; we plunged immediately into the work to defend his memory and carry out his testament.----- (Page 15) But ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the old man's fight in a manner worthy of his disciples like good soldiers of Trotsky's army-----with the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International- the International Party that shall be the human race." (From above pamphlet; 61-10528-94) C4

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAINT PAUL**

FILE NO. 100-1685

REPORT MADE AT <b>SAINT PAUL</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>6-5-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5-21-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>R. T. NOONAN, SA</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>LCH</b></span>
TITLE <b>JAMES P. CANNON</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R) CUSTODIAL DETENTION</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** CANNON is a recognized leader of the Socialist Workers' Party in the United States, with headquarters at 116 University Place, New York City. He was convicted at Minneapolis, Minn. December 1, 1941 of conspiring to advocate and teach the overthrow of the Government by force and violence and on 12-8-41 at Minneapolis, Minnesota, was sentenced to 16 months in an institution of the penitentiary type. He is presently at liberty pending appeal. CANNON wrote numerous pamphlets and articles advocating revolution.

- C -

JAMES P. CANNON was indicted by Federal Grand Jury at St. Paul, Minnesota on July 15, 1941, being charged among other things with conspiring to advocate and teach the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. He was convicted by jury at Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 1, 1941 and was sentenced on December 8, 1941 at Minneapolis, Minnesota to a term of 16 months in an institution of the penitentiary type. He is presently at liberty, under bond, pending appeal.

This matter was previously handled in the case entitled "JAMES P. CANNON, et al., Socialist Workers Party, with aliases; Internal Security (R).

Under date of August 14, 1941 letter was sent to the Bureau and a copy to the New York office containing information concerning CANNON and a custodial detention memorandum was

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 2 - New York 2 - St. Paul	<b>100-159214-3</b>  <b>JUN 8 1942</b>  <b>JUL 6 1960</b>	<b>RECORDED</b>

COPY IN FILE

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941 - O - 281888

100-1685

also submitted, setting forth by witnesses the information available as to him. It is presumed that custodial detention card was forwarded to the New York office, which at the time this letter was submitted was the office of origin in the above case.

This letter and custodial detention memorandum was prepared subsequent to the presentation of evidence to the Grand Jury concerning CANNON and others and contained practically all of the available information against him. During the trial of the case in October and November, 1941, at Minneapolis Minnesota, CANNON took the stand and admitted during a long period of testimony that he was the head of the Socialist Workers' Party in the United States and that it was a revolutionary body but claimed they advocated revolution only by peaceful means.

All of the available information having been previously submitted in this file, except the conviction and sentence which is herein reported, this case is being closed.

- CLOSED -

June 27, 1942

100-159214-3

Special Agent in Charge  
St. Paul, Minnesota

Re: James P. Cannon  
Internal Security - R  
Custodial Detention

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent R. T. Noonan dated June 5, 1942, at St. Paul, Minnesota, in the above entitled matter. The report reflects the instant case to be in a closed status, although it states that the subject presently is at liberty pending an appeal.

It is the Bureau's desire that the instant case be re-opened and placed in a pending inactive status until the results of the subject's appeal are definitely known.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E.A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson COMMUN  
Mr. Coffey M A  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Kramer ★ JUL  
Mr. McGuire  
Mr. Quinn FEDERAL BUREAU  
Mr. Nease U. S. DEP  
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

~~MAILED~~ 3

~~JUN~~ 29 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HR:mcf

July 23, 1942

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~DECLASSIFIED BY SP-THUR/DB  
ON 8/9/90~~

Special Agent in Charge  
New York, New York

RE: JAMES PATRICK CANNON, WITH ALIASES  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

There is enclosed herewith a photostatic  
copy of a custodial detention card relating to

James Patrick Cannon, with aliases  
116 University Place  
New York, New York

for appropriate and expeditious attention in  
accordance with existing Bureau instructions.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 6  
JUL 27 1942 PM  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-159214-4  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
JUL 25 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

30  
288  
1 JUL 29 '42  
91

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/1/90 BY SP-6 AG/CX

June 30, 1942

HR:mof

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAWRENCE M. C. SMITH  
CHIEF, SPECIAL WAR POLICIES UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/pas  
MAR 4 1996 SP6 AGK/H

There is transmitted herewith a dossier showing the information presently available in the files of this Bureau with respect to James Patrick Cannon, with aliases whose address is 116 University Place, New York, New York.

It is recommended that this individual be considered for custodial detention in view of the existing emergency. The information contained on the attached dossier constitutes the basis for appropriate consideration in this regard.

It should be understood, of course, that additional information may be received from time to time supplementing that already available in the Bureau's files, and as such data are received they will be made available to you so that the dossier in your possession may be supplemented thereby.

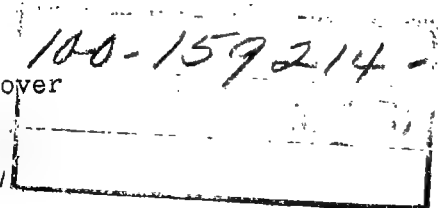
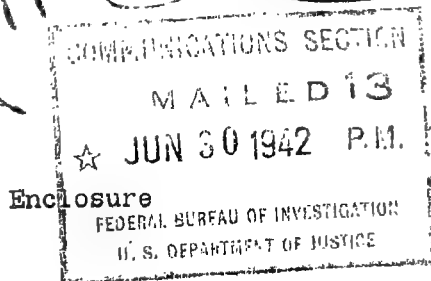
It will be greatly appreciated if you will advise this Bureau at your earliest convenience as to the decision reached in this case.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



Jim's  
JCS  
JCS

**Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**

404 New York Building  
St. Paul, Minn.  
July 27, 1942

100-1685

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: JAMES P. CANNON  
INTERNAL SECURITY R  
CUSTODIAL DETENTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 *[signature]*  
MAR 4 1996 SPLAG/kl

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated June 27, 1942,  
Bureau file 61-10528, wherein the Bureau requests that this case  
be re-opened and placed in a pending inactive status until the  
results of the subject's appeal are definitely known.

The attention of the Bureau was called to the fact that in  
the case entitled "JAMES P. CANNON, et al, ~~Socialist Workers Party~~, with  
alias ~~Protskyites~~, ~~4th International~~" wherein the St. Paul Office was  
the office of origin, there were 18 subjects convicted including CANNON  
and an appeal was taken by all of these convicted persons to their  
attorneys. The above file has been kept open to report the disposition  
of the appeal as to all of these convicted persons. Many of the separate  
cases maintained on these individuals have been previously closed.

It would, therefore, not appear to be necessary to keep this  
case or any of the 18 separate files open when all of these persons are  
carried in the same case wherein they were convicted and therefore this  
case will again be placed in a closed status unless instructions are  
received to the contrary.

Very truly yours,

*[Signature]*  
C. W. STEIN  
Special Agent in Charge

RTN:ip COPIES DESTROYED  
153 JUL 6 1960

91 *[initials]*  
51 AUG 27 1942

RECORDED

100-159214-5

*[Handwritten initials]*

EX-11

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEH-TGG

AUG 4 1942

8A  
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Mr. Gandy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

Re: James Patrick Cannon  
116 University Place,  
New York City

Classification: A-2

Set out above is the tentative dangerousness classification of the above-named individual concerning whom information has been previously submitted to this Unit by the Bureau.

This case has been referred to the Criminal Division for possible prosecution or such other action as they deem appropriate. If further investigation is desired, a request will be made by the Criminal Division.

*Lawrence M. C. Smith*  
Lawrence M. C. Smith  
Chief, Special War Policies Unit  
War Division *By TLL*

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/20/96 BY SP6 AG/cb

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 2  
★ AUG 27 1942  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
91  
AUG 28 1942

700-1592-14-6  
19 AUG 5 1942  
*[Signature]*



100-159214 -6X

RWB:VFW

Date: January 13, 1943

To: SAC, New York

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject:

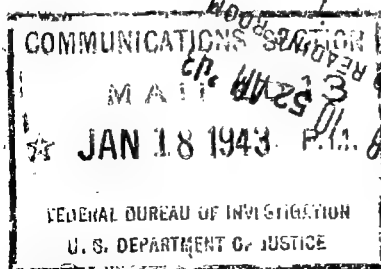
JAMES P. CANNON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
CUSTODIAL DETENTION

In connection with your investigation of the above named individual, I wish to call your attention to the following information which has been received from the Office of Naval Intelligence, bearing the date of September 4, 1943:

"... A censorship report reveals that SUBJECT received a cable from one EDWARD GRANT, Workers International League, London, England, in which GRANT issued greetings of Socialist Workers Party of England to the SWP of America. GRANT stated in part: 'We pledge our wholehearted solidarity to our American comrades recently persecuted by reactionary American imperialism. We are confident that our American Comrades will emerge strengthened and lead the workers of America to the victorious Socialist revolution'. In the cable to the SUBJECT, GRANT also sent greetings to NATALIA (wife of Leon TROTSKY) and a pledge to carry on the work of Trotsky until the victory of the 4th International. GRANT stated further that the growth and power of the Socialist Party was evidenced by the vicious attack against Trotskyism by the Capitalist class in Britain."

*Any information is unclassified per their 7/10/92 letter.  
1045 DW/PSK 9/2/92*

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



11.3  
CANNON, James 453 G  
116 University Place, New York City

ONI

Ref: Various cards, same Subject.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference cards reveal that SUBJECT is National leader of the Socialist Workers Party, political arm of Trotskyite movement; that he was convicted with 17 other members for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence at Minneapolis. A censorship report reveals that SUBJECT received a cable from one EDWARD GRANT, Workers International League, London, England, in which GRANT issued greetings of ~~the~~ Socialist Workers Party of England to the SWP of America. GRANT stated in part: "We pledge our wholehearted solidarity to our American

CANNON, James (Cont'd) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ONI

comrades recently persecuted by reactionary American imperialism. We are confident that our American Comrades will emerge strengthened and lead the workers of America to the victorious Socialist revolution". In the cable to the SUBJECT, GRANT also sent greetings to NATALIA (wife of Leon TROTSKY) and a pledge to carry on the work of Trotsky until the victory of the 4th International. GRANT stated further that the growth and power of the Socialist Party was evidenced by the vicious attack against Trotskyism by the Capitalist class in Britain." F-1 cognizant.

ND-3, FBI, MIS

September 4, 1942

B-7-CP cc44

EX-9

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/20/86 BY SP-6 JAC/H

B

2 SEP 8 1942

FIVE

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
 New York, New York

KMB:MMR  
 100-4013

December 5 1942

Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 9/6/90 BY SP-7 mmp/DB  
 FILE SP-6 46108

Re: JAMES P. CANNON, ET AL;  
 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY with aliases:  
 Trotskyites, Fourth International;  
 INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Kenneth M. Bierly in the above-captioned matter dated December 4, 1942, in which on page 17 there appears information to the effect that two Agents of this office interviewed JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary for the Socialist Workers Party at the party headquarters, 116 University Place, New York City on November 4, 1942.

The results of this interview were set out in instant report regarding the information as obtained by these two Agents. Inasmuch as copies of instant report were being designated for ONI and G-2, and in view of the fact that considerable publicity has occurred in the Socialist Workers Party publication, "The Militant" in regard to two Agents interviewing JAMES P. CANNON, it was felt that in instant report that the names of the two Agents, namely, Special Agents William D. Dunne and A. Fletcher Spigner, Jr. of this office, be deleted from instant report.

For the further information of the Bureau, Special Agents A. Fletcher Spigner, Jr. and William D. Dunne interviewed JAMES P. CANNON in relation to the case entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECTS, Wreck of Pennsylvania Railroad Train No. 316 near Baden, Pennsylvania, March 16, 1942; SABOTAGE", New York file No. 98-243. Incidental to the interview regarding the Pennsylvania Railroad train wreck, Agents Dunne and Spigner were able to obtain valuable and detailed information regarding JAMES P. CANNON of the Socialist Workers Party.

Very truly yours

*P. E. Foxworth* 100-159214-10  
 P. E. FOXWORTH  
 Assistant Director

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DEC 7 1942



**COPY IN FILE**  
 JAN 7 1943

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 1159-21

PERS. FILED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

December 21, 1942

CLR:wct

~~Limited Classification~~  
~~Review Conducted~~  
~~See Top Serial~~  
~~Form 4-774~~

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-28-81 BY SP-2 TAP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: OPEN LETTER TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
By James P. Cannon, National  
Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/20/96 BY SP-6 HGS/KH

DECLASSIFICATION

Reference is made to your request to be advised concerning the details of an article appearing in a newspaper entitled "The Militant" in which a letter written by James P. Cannon to the Attorney General was published under the title "Is the FBI Concocting a Frame-Up Against the SWP." You ask further to be advised why the article was not brought to your attention from within the Bureau at the time of its publication.

For your information the interview referred to by Mr. Cannon in his letter to the Attorney General was conducted by Bureau Agents in connection with the case entitled "Unknown Subjects, Wreck of Pennsylvania Railroad Train No. 316, Baden, Pennsylvania, March 16, 1941, Sabotage." You may recall that the train immediately preceding the wrecked train carried a number of Russian engineers later ascertained to be members of the Amtorg Trading Corporation. Due to the suspicions of various informants of the Bureau, it was felt advisable to interview Mr. Cannon and one Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party, in connection with instant case because it was believed that the perpetrators may have been attempting to wreck the train carrying the Russian engineers. Among the groups which were felt to be most bitter against the "Red" Russians was the Trotskyite group of which both Shachtman and Cannon are members.

Special Agents E. F. Emrich and A. Fletcher Spigner of the New York Field Office interviewed Max Shachtman on November 3 and Special Agents Spigner and William D. Dunne interviewed James P. Cannon on November 4, 1942. Both Shachtman and Cannon denied any knowledge concerning the wreck and further denied knowing anyone who might be suspected of wrecking the train.

A memorandum to all "Comrades" dated November 7, 1942, was prepared by Max Shachtman in which he set forth his version of the interview by Special Agent Spigner. In this memorandum Shachtman hinted strongly that there was a frame-up against the Trotskyites in connection with the wreck and he further hinted that their enemies, the Stalinists, were behind the FBI inquiry. James P. Cannon prepared a letter for the Attorney General dated November 18, 1942, based upon the interview by Bureau Agents. The original of this letter was referred to



60 JAN 23 1943

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Memo for the Director

- 2 -

the Bureau by Mr. Biddle and a copy of the same letter was inserted by Cannon in the November 21st issue of "The Militant." *u*

Concerning your question why the article was not brought to your attention from within the Bureau at the time of its publication, please be advised that a memorandum was prepared for the Attorney General on November 27, 1942, when it was learned that a copy of Cannon's letter dated November 18, had been inserted in "The Militant." This memorandum advised the Attorney General of the basis for the interview referred to by Cannon and further advised him that a copy of the letter had been inserted in "The Militant." There is attached hereto a copy of the memorandum sent to the Attorney General, the original of which was routed to you for your signature, along with photostatic copies of the November 21 issue of "The Militant." This memorandum cleared the Bureau on November 30, 1942. *u*

Respectfully,

*D. M. Ladd*  
D. M. Ladd

Enclosure

*incl (Nov 28, 1942)  
Detached  
1/6/42  
Cem*

61-10528  
CLP:wct  
T. 11-27-42.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-5-81 BY SP-2 TAP

~~Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 4-774~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

You will recall that you recently referred a letter you had received on November 18, 1942, from James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to this Bureau. To refresh your memory, this letter is being quoted:

"November 18, 1942

"Mr. Francis Biddle  
Attorney-General of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/20/96 BY SP-6 CKA

Dear Sir:

"A few days ago two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation appeared at my office at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City, and inquired of me whether I had had anything to do with a train wreck that occurred about a year and a half ago. They also expressed their intention to question other leaders and members of the party on the same subject.

"What is the meaning of this fantastic inquisition? How could the F.B.I. ever arrive at a theory that we, members of a workers political party with openly declared political aims, could be interested in wrecking trains? All our writings show clearly that we are opposed to individual violence and sabotage.

"It appears that in the train directly following or preceding the one that was wrecked there was a car carrying engineers and officials of the Soviet Union.

"It is possible that an agent of the F.B.I., completely unacquainted with what our movement stands for, assumed that the Trotskyists, being enemies of the Stalinists, might have recourse to violence and sabotage. But it is also possible that, when Stalin became friendly with Washington and London, the G.P.U. became friendly with the F.B.I., and that the G.P.U. has suggested to the F.B.I. the concoction of a typical Stalinist frame-up against the Trotskyists.

"In either case, I want to protest at being subjected to questions which imply that Trotskyists resort to sabotage and violence against individuals. The American workers, and all decent citizens, must recoil with horror from the implication that the federal government is going into the business of imputing fantastic crimes of violence and sabotage to political opponents and critics, and of framing up such charges against them, when the real purpose is political persecution.

"Our political ideas can be read in all our papers and pamphlets openly published and distributed. Any attempt to attribute ideas and practices to us outside of those that are openly advocated by us must be publicly called by its right name: a prelude to a frame-up.

Very truly yours,

/s/ J. P. Cannon

James P. Cannon, National Secretary  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY"

You may be interested to know that this letter was quoted verbatim in the November 21st, 1942 issue of "The Militant," a newspaper published in the interests of the working people. This letter appeared under the caption, "Is The FBI Concocting a Frame-Up Against the SWP."

For your information the interview referred to by Mr. Cannon was conducted by Bureau Agents in connection with the case entitled "Unknown Subjects, Wreck of the Pennsylvania Railroad Train No. 316 at Baden, Pennsylvania, March 16, 1941, Sabotage." You may recall that the train immediately preceding the wrecked train carried a number of Russian engineers later ascertained to be members of the Amtorg Trading Corporation. Due to the suspicions of various informants of this Bureau, it was felt advisable to interview Mr. Cannon and one Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party, in connection with instant case because it was felt that the perpetrators may have been attempting to wreck the train carrying the Russian engineers. Among the groups who were felt to be most bitter against the "Red" Russians was the Trotskyite group of which both Shachtman and Cannon are said to be members.

Mr. Cannon's reaction to the interview is clear from his letter and it may interest you to know that Shachtman's attitude was very similar to that of Mr. Cannon. Mr. Shachtman has written a memorandum to be read to all of the "comrades" of his organization in which he uses similar phraseology to that used by Cannon.

Memorandum for the  
Attorney General

- 3 -

Due to the attitude taken by Mr. Cannon in this matter and due to the tenor of his letter, this Bureau is making no acknowledgment thereto. The original of Mr. Cannon's letter is being retained for the Bureau files and will not be returned to you unless you advise that you desire its return.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/abz

# Post Office Holds Up Two Issues Of "The Militant"

## Our Only 'Crime' Is Loyalty To Working Class

### An Editorial

The Post Office authorities have refused to permit the Nov. 7 and 14 issues of THE MILITANT to go through the mails.

They made this arbitrary decision without any notice or explanation of their action to THE MILITANT office. The business office had no knowledge of the interference with the delivery of these issues until letters and telegrams began to pour in from many cities complaining about the failure to receive the above-mentioned issues of THE MILITANT.

Only after our direct inquiry were we informed that the paper had been withheld from the mails. Then we were given no official reason, but were told that we must apply to the Washington Post for an explanation.

After technicalities or alibis the authorities let it be clear that the suppression of these issues of THE MILITANT is a direct attack on the Roosevelt government on the democratic side.

We are a working-class newspaper to write and criticize from a working-class viewpoint. This blow by the government strikes directly at the democratic rights of all sections of the working class. There is only a short step between holding up the mailing of the socialist MILITANT and suppressing a CIO or AFL paper. Only last week the newspapers reported a plan by the Washington authorities to curtail the quantity of newsprint for labor papers.

What is the reason for withholding the two issues of THE MILITANT from the mails? The attack on THE MILITANT arises first of all from the uncompromising position taken by THE MILITANT on all issues facing the working class and a championing the interests of the labor movement against the interests of the capitalist class.

VOL. VI.—No. 47

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1942

FIVE (5) CENTS

# U. S. 'Democrats' Find It Easy To Do Business With French Fascists

## Is The FBI Concocting A Frameup Against The SWP?

An Open Letter to Attorney-General Biddle

By James P. Cannon

NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Mr. Francis Biddle  
Attorney-General of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

A few days ago two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation appeared at my office, at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City, and inquired of me whether I had had anything to do with a train wreck that occurred about a year and a half ago. They also expressed their intention to question other leaders and members of the party on the same subject.

What is the meaning of this fantastic inquisition? How could the FBI ever arrive at a theory that we, members of a workers' political party with openly declared political aims, could be interested in wrecking trains? All our writings show clearly that we are opposed to individual violence and sabotage.

It appears that in the train directly following or preceding the one that was wrecked there was a car carrying engineers and officials of the Soviet Union.

It is possible that an agent of the FBI, completely unacquainted with what our movement stands for, assumed

that the Trotskyists, being enemies of the Stalinists, might have recourse to violence and sabotage. But it is also possible that, when Stalin became friendly with Washington and London, the GPU became friendly with the FBI, and that the GPU has suggested to the FBI the concoction of a typical Stalinist frame-up against the Trotskyists.

In either case, I want to protest at being subjected to questions which imply that Trotskyists resort to sabotage and violence against individuals. The American workers, and all decent citizens, must recoil with horror from the implication that the federal government is going into the business of imputing fantastic crimes of violence and sabotage to political opponents and critics, and of framing up such charges against them, when the real purpose is political persecution.

Our political ideas can be read in all our papers and pamphlets openly published and distributed. Any attempt to attribute ideas and practices to us outside of those that are openly advocated by us must be publicly called by its right name: a prelude to a frame-up.

Very truly yours,

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary  
Socialist Workers Party

## CIO Convention Reveals

Huge New Tax Bill  
Planned for 1943

month's tax

## Deals Strengthen F Of The French Ma

Rulers of 'Liberated' North Africa  
Picked From

By GEORGE COLLINS

The American occupation of North Africa aroused great rejoicing on the part of government officials, so-called public figures and the press of this country. For them it signified the turning of the military tide in the war with the Axis.

But far different must have been the reaction of the oppressed masses of metropolitan France and French North Africa. They had listened to the grand pronouncements of American radio speakers of "freedom from tyranny" and an Atlantic Charter. But the very first of the American forces in organizing the conquered territories told a far different story.

The American command in North Africa is collaborating with the recent collaborators of Hitler. It is appointing to high positions and dignifying military and civilian positions held by arch-reactionaries, pro-fascists, enemies of the Soviet Union and slave-masters of colonial peoples. Here is a partial list:

NOW "OUR" ALLIES

month's tax

month's tax

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 16, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR  
HUGH B. COX, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL  
AND  
J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

I refer to Mr. L. M. C. Smith's memorandum to me dated June 28, 1943, which reviews the history, development, and meaning of the Special Case work and of the danger classifications that were made as a part of that work.

After full re-consideration of these individual danger classifications, I am satisfied that they serve no useful purpose. The detention of alien enemies is being dealt with under the procedures established by the Alien Enemy Control Unit. The Special Case procedure has been found to be valueless and is not used in that connection. There is no statutory authorization or other present justification for keeping a "custodial detention" list of citizens. The Department fulfills its proper functions by investigating the activities of persons who may have violated the law. It is not aided in this work by classifying persons as to dangerousness.

Apart from these general considerations, it is now clear to me that this classification system is inherently unreliable. The evidence used for the purpose of making the classifications was inadequate; the standards applied to the evidence for the purpose of making the classifications were defective; and finally, the notion that it is possible to make a valid determination as to how dangerous a person is in the abstract and without reference to time, environment, and other relevant circumstances, is impractical, unwise, and dangerous.

For the foregoing reasons I am satisfied that the adoption of this classification system was a mistake that should be rectified for the future. Accordingly, I direct that the classifications heretofore made should not be regarded as classifications of dangerousness or as a

100-159214

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61 AUG 14 1943

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/20/96 BY SP-6 JSP/CH

determination of fact in any sense. In the future, they should not be used for any purpose whatsoever. Questions raised as to the status or activities of a particular person should be disposed of by consideration of all available information, but without reference to any classification heretofore made.

A copy of this memorandum should be placed in the file of each person who has hitherto been given a classification. In addition, each card upon which a classification appears should be stamped with the following language:

"THIS CLASSIFICATION IS UNRELIABLE. IT IS  
HEREBY CANCELLED, AND SHOULD NOT BE USED  
AS A DETERMINATION OF DANGEROUSNESS OR OF  
ANY OTHER FACT. (SEE MEMORANDUM OF JULY 16,  
1943 FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO HUGH B.  
COX AND J. EDGAR HOOVER)."

Attorney General

454A

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT ST. PAUL

FILE NO. 100-1246

REPORT MADE AT ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA	DATE WHEN MADE 12-1-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 11-9-42	REPORT MADE BY R. T. NOONAN, SA RA
TITLE JAMES P. CANNON, et al, SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY, WAS, TROTSKYITES, <u>FOURTH INTERNATIONAL</u> <del>AT FOUR</del>			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - R CUSTODIAL DETENTION
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Appeal in this case argued before U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Louis, Missouri, November 5, 1942. Decision not expected before January 1943.			
- P -			
REFERENCE:	Report of Special Agent R. T. NOONAN, St. Paul, dated May 13, 1942.		
DETAILS:	<u>AT ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA:</u>  U. S. Attorney, VICTOR E. ANDERSON, advised that this case was argued by himself and Assistant to Attorney General, HENRY SCHWEINHOUT, of the Department, at St. Louis, Missouri on November 5, 1942. It is not expected that a decision will be handed down much before the first of January 1943. <del>DEFERRED RECORDING</del>		
- P E N D I N G -			
<div style="position: absolute; left: 100px; top: 100px; transform: rotate(-30deg);"> 1 cc of me &amp; Tamm 12-2-42 alc </div> <div style="position: absolute; left: 400px; top: 150px; border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/BJ SP-6 AB/CH MAR 4 1996 </div>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES		
<i>[Signature]</i>	150-159214 - 13 RECORDED 5 DEC 7 1942 55 JAN 23 1943		
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1 - USA, St. Paul			
2 - Stl Paul			

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941 - O - 281888

100-1246

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

ST. PAUL FIELD DIVISION:

AT ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA:

Will keep in touch with U. S. Attorney so that the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals when received may be appropriately reported.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

100-1246.

FILE NO.

<b>REPORT MADE AT</b> ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA	<b>DATE WHEN MADE</b> 9/24/43	<b>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</b> 9/22/43	<b>REPORT MADE BY</b> ROY T. NOONAN <span style="float: right;">TJ</span>
<b>TITLE</b> JAMES P. CANNON, etal, SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY, was., TROTSKYITES, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL			<b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b> INTERNAL SECURITY - C
<b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Louis, Missouri, affirmed the conviction of all 18 convicted Subjects, the opinion being filed at St. Louis, Missouri, 9/20/43. Defendants are being ordered to surrender to the U. S. Marshal at St. Paul, Minnesota, but the present indications are they will appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.			
-P-			
<b>REFERENCE:</b> Report of Special Agent ROY T. NOONAN dated at St. Paul, Minnesota, December 1, 1942.			
<b>DETAILS:</b> <u>AT ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA:</u>  United States Attorney VICTOR E. ANDERSON on September 22, 1943, advised that the circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis, Missouri, on September 20, 1943, affirmed the conviction of all eighteen convicted Subjects in this case, and that he had been notified that the opinion of the court had been filed with the Clerk of United States Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Louis, Missouri, on September 20, 1943. Mr. ANDERSON furnished Agent with a copy of the court's opinion, which was rendered by Circuit Judge STONE, the other two Circuit Judges concurring in the opinion. Mr. ANDERSON stated that the defendants would be ordered to surrender to the United States Marshal at St. Paul, Minnesota, but that there are indications they may appeal this case to the United States Supreme Court.			
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>APPROVED AND FORWARDED:</i></p> <p><i>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 70%;"> <p style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p><b>COPIES DESTROYED</b></p> <p>152 JUL 6 1960</p> <p>59 OCT 20 1943</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <p><b>RECORDED</b></p> <p><b>INDEXED</b></p> <p>100-159974-14</p> </div> </div> </div> </div>			

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-159974-14

St. Paul #100-1246.

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION:

A copy of this report is being submitted to the New York office, inasmuch as that office advised by teletype September 22, 1943, concerning information that ALBERT GOLDMAN, attorney for the S.W.P., and ROGER BALDWIN, of the American Civil Liberties Union, had conferred relative to plans to carry this to the Supreme Court, and said teletype mentioned the defendants believed to reside in the New York area.

-P E N D I N G-

454F

CCM:AKR  
100-159214

9/30/43

OCT - 1 1943

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1 huc/1013  
ON 8/9/90

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: James P. Cannon

In connection with the investigation of the Socialist Workers Party by this Bureau it is deemed advisable that a technical surveillance be established on the home of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of that organization, at 128 West 11th Street, New York City, Apartment 71, telephone number Algonquin 45215.

Cannon has long been recognized as one of the most outstanding revolutionists in this country. Prior to the creation of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Cannon was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. He was instrumental in the creation of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and in 1921 acted as Chairman of the then known Central Executive Committee of that Party. Subsequent to that date Cannon attended several World Congresses of the Third (Communist) International, at which time he had considerable to say concerning Party policy in this country. In 1934 Cannon, along with several other individuals who were also members of the Party, split with the Party creating an opposition group. This group in 1938, after fusing with other Trotskyite elements formed the Socialist Workers Party, which Party adheres to the teachings of Leon Trotsky as opposed to those of Josef Stalin.

The files of this Bureau are replete with information concerning revolutionary activities on the part of Cannon. In the early 1920's he was indicted on several occasions for so-called radical activities.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Acers \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Starke \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Of recent date information has been received reflecting that meetings of the Socialist Workers Party in New York City are being held at the residence of Cannon. This residence is also presently being used by Vincent R. Dunne, former Acting Labor Secretary of this group.

It is felt that to completely cover the activities of this organization in New York City, in which area its activities are most intense, it will be necessary to obtain technical coverage of Cannon's residence.

I recommend that the requested surveillance be authorized.

Respectfully,  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 2:20 pm
DATE 10-4-43
BY [signature]

OCT 2 8 22 PM '43  
RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
100-459214-15  
FBI  
30 OCT 4 1943  
[signatures]

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DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-6 AC/cd





Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

OCT - 4 1943  
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: James P. Cannon

DECLASSIFIED BY  
ON 8/9/90

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Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

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&  
INDEXED

100-15427-46  
16 OCT 11 1943

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DATE MAR 4 1996 BY SP-6 AG/CH



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Wire 71.9.  
10-6-43

EOP:MLC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICEURGENT

(10-6-43) (\*)

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

100-157214-16

SAC, NEW YORK CITY

Transmit the following message to:  
[TO BE CODED] (\*)

TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE AUTHORIZED TO COVER JAMES P. CANNON, APT.

SEVEN ONE, ONE TWO EIGHT WEST ELEVENTH STREET, NYC.

HOOVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISECLASSIFIED BY: SP-7 mac/PB  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR  
8/9/90

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED

BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRCC)

DATE: 4/12/97 SP-9 CN/NVT 1/30/97

3/4/76

CLASSIFIED BY SP-6 AG/CH  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3[Handwritten note: 6-4-37  
4:37 p.m.] (\*)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Acers \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Starke \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CODED AND SENT (\*)

SENT VIA

6-073 M

Per

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NY FILE NO. 100-25905 KRE

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11/6/43</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/11, 14-16, 18, 19, 22/43</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, Jr.</b>
TITLE <b>JAMES PATRICK CANNON, with aliases, James Cook, Redwell, Karsner</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, TROTSKYITES, was born 2/11/90, Rosedale, Kansas. He has been active as a member, leader or organizer of numerous radical organizations in the United States such as the International Workers of the World, Communist Labor Party, Workers (Communist) Party of America, International Labor Defense, Communist League of America (Opposition), Workers Party, and presently the Socialist Workers Party. He represented the Workers Party of America on the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1922 and was a delegate to the Fourth and Sixth World Congresses of the Communist International held in Moscow, Russia. CANNON and seventeen members of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted 12/1/41 of seditious conspiracy, which decision was upheld by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on 9/20/43. This case is presently being appealed to the United States Supreme Court. Description set out.

**REFERENCE:** Report of Special Agent R. T. NCONAN, dated 6/5/42, at St. Paul.

**DETAILS:** This case is being reopened inasmuch as JAMES P. CANNON is considered to be a key figure in the New York Field Division to report the available information regarding him in the case file and so that his activities may be kept up to date.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>E. E. Conroy</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau 1 Col. S. V. Constant, G-2 1 Capt. R. C. MacFall, ONI 2 Washington Field 2 New York		<b>30 NOV 8 1943</b>
		RECORDED INDEXED EX-54

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NY 100-25905

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Confidential Informant T-1 advised that JAMES P. CANNON resides with his wife, ROSE KARSNER, and VINCENT R. DUNNE at 128 W. 11th Street, New York City, Apartment No. 71, and that he is known at this apartment house under the name of Mr. KARSNER and not under the name of JAMES P. CANNON. He advised that the KARSNERS receive no mail at this address and that they have quite a few visitors who come to their apartment during the evening hours and late into the morning. From their appearance and mode of dress, the Informant has been under the impression that they are Bolsheviks. This Informant stated, however, that these people have never said anything to him which would indicate that they actually are Bolsheviks.

The following information, unless specifically indicated, has been obtained from a review of the files of the New York Office.

JAMES P. CANNON joined the Socialist Party at Kansas City in 1908 and in 1911 joined the International Workers of the World. He took part in the organization of a Left Wing group in Kansas City in 1918. He was editor of the local Left Wing weekly paper, "The Workers World," in 1919. He was delegated to the National Left Wing Conference in New York City in June of 1919 and was elected a member of the Labor Committee of the National Left Wing. He was foundation member of the Communist Labor Party and the first district organizer for the St. Louis-Kansas City Districts in 1919 and 1920.

He organized the first underground Communist groups in the mine field of Kansas and Southern Illinois. CANNON was elected to the Central Executive Committee at the first underground convention at Bridgman, Michigan, in May, 1920, and was re-elected at every subsequent convention of the Party until his expulsion in 1928. He was editor of the Party league paper, "The Reeler," in 1920. He was a delegate to the Fourth and Sixth World Congresses of the Communist International and also to a number of the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. He was National Secretary of the International Labor Defense from its foundation in June, 1925 to October 1928.

The American Labor "Who's Who" for 1925 had the following to say about CANNON:

Assistant Executive Secretary of the Workers Party of America;  
Chairman, Central Executive Committee since August, 1921;  
Political Committee since organization in 1921;

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25905

Born February 11, 1890, Kansas City, Kansas.  
 Father, a foundry worker. Public High School, Kansas City;  
 Kansas City Law College. Member Hotel and Restaurant Employees  
 International Alliance and the Bartenders International League  
 of America. Central Executive Committee Communist Party 1920 until  
 merger with Workers Party. Represented Workers Party on Executive  
 Committee of Communist International, 1922. Author: "The Fifth  
 Year of the Russian Revolution," pamphlet, 1923.

The "Militant" issue of 1,129 on page eight states that  
 CANNON was "organizer in Akron rubber strike in 1913, Peoria Metal  
 Workers Strike, Superior, Duluth and Superior Ore Dock Strike and many  
 others. Indicted for conspiracy in the Peoria Metal Workers Strike in  
 1913 and was indicted by Federal Government for activity in strike of  
 the Kansas coal miners in 1919. No conviction in either case. Numerous  
 arrests and short jail terms."

In 1919, CANNON was charged with conspiracy to violate the  
 Lever Act and was committed to jail in default of \$15,000 bond.

As a member of the International Workers of the World,  
 CANNON addressed a meeting at the IWW Hall, New York City, on August 8,  
 1921 and asked the IWW to show their spirit by being true, class-conscious  
 Revolutionists, by working with all their might for the overthrow of the  
 capitalist government here and all over the world.

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to  
 the Bureau, advised that CANNON'S party name in 1921 was REDWELL, and  
 that in a speech at Parkview Palace, New York City, in the same year,  
 CANNON stated that the Workers League was out to make or try to make a  
 secure Soviet Republic in America.

In a secret meeting held in the Irish-American Labor  
 League Hall, 250 W. 25th Street, New York City, on November 18, 1921,  
 CANNON explained that the Communist Party had gone underground because  
 the capitalist class and the government were trying to clean it out and  
 stated that the Communists should be in every fight of the workers and  
 at all times lead the masses which could not be done if the Party were  
 underground.

CANNON represented the American Labor Alliance in the  
 organization of the Workers Party of America in New York City in  
 December, 1921.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CANNON was elected Chairman of the Workers Party at a convention in New York City on December 8, 1921. He acted as Chairman of the Workers Party Joint Convention at Philadelphia on December 15, 1921 as a representative of the American Labor Alliance.

He was indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at Kansas City, Missouri, during the nation-wide coal strike in 1922, being charged with radical activities in the coal fields at Pittsburgh, Kansas. On January 23, 1922, a demurrer to the indictment was suspended and CANNON was released.

At a meeting held on January 29, 1922 at Mercantile Hall, Kansas City, Missouri, he stated that the purpose of the Workers Party was to unite the radical elements in the United States into one great party; that they must work within the trade unions; and that when they have power and strength, they will strike as they struck in Russia. He also praised Russia and spoke concerning the struggle of the capitalists against the working man and declared that Communism was their only alternative, else the destruction of civilization.

A pamphlet entitled "The Russian Famine" indicated that CANNON was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

In June of 1922, under the alias of COOK, CANNON took part in the preliminary meeting of the Executive Committee of the Third International in Moscow as representative for North America. He was also elected to the International Commission which was to make preparations for the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

On June 13, 1922, at the Fourth Congress of the Third International, he was elected as an Alternate to the Presidium of the Enlarged Committee of the Communist International. Under the alias of COOK, he was elected to a committee to elaborate the program of the Communist International. CANNON, at the Second Annual Convention of the Workers Party held on December 24, 1922 at the Labor Temple, East 84th Street, New York City, was elected to the Central Executive Committee.

A mimeographed letter of the Workers Party signed by C. ~~RUTHENBERG~~, Executive Secretary, dated January 8, 1923, carries the name of JAMES P. CANNON as National Chairman in the letterhead. This letter was sent to all Party branches stating that the Party now had a Communist program and announced the distribution of a million copies of this program.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - 4 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In a speech at Lasters Hall, Lynn, Massachusetts, on March 4, 1923, CANNON stated that Russia must be freed from the so-called blockade enforced upon her by the bourgeoisie countries of the world and that it, therefore, behooved the workers of America, as well as the workers of other capitalistic countries, not only to organize to help the Communist Government of Russia, but to organize powerfully in their respective countries to control the affairs in their own countries so that the workers may be in a position to establish an international working and ruling class to cooperate with Soviet Russia. He also urged the workers of America to stand by Soviet Russia and the principles of Communism.

Under the letterhead of the Workers Party of America, JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman, dated March 14, 1923, all district organizers, federation secretaries, city central committees and party branches were urged to hold a united front May Day demonstration on May 1, 1923.

CANNON in a speech on March 18, 1923 at the Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, described his recent visit to Russia and stated ".....We were also told to say to the representatives of the proletariat of the various countries when we returned home, that the Red Army are your brothers and that you can depend upon the Red Army at the proper time to fight with you against the Capitalist class." He also stated "I wish to call your attention to something which we all noticed and spoke of. Upon the hundreds of gun carriages that passed by we saw the letters 'U.S.A.'"

On March 23, 1923, a petition was filed with the Attorney General requesting the prosecution of CANNON and others under Section Five, Criminal Code of 1910. CANNON was charged with being Chairman of the Communist Workers Party of America and as having spent six months in Russia as delegate to the Communist International.

On March 27 and 28, 1923 at Worcester, Massachusetts, he addressed a mass meeting under the auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia, in which he praised Soviet Russia, condemned capitalists of this country, and advised that the energetic organization of the Workers Party be continued. He stated that after a tour of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, he expected to return to Russia for six months. He addressed

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the meeting at Liberty Hall, Washington, D. C., held by the Workers Party of America on April 4, 1923 and discussed his visit to Russia in June of 1922 stating that he conferred with LENIN and TROTSKY.

CANNON praised Russia and stated that the Soviet Government would welcome the recognition of other governments until such time as it could obtain the recognition of the "Proletariat of the World," which time was not very far distanced as every government had within it a certain element working from an end which would bring this result throughout the world in a very few years.

While speaking at the Labor Lyceum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on April 15, 1923, CANNON stated, "I don't want to say that the workers of this country will revolt, but it is coming. No one can say what is in the air. You know we can't say what we would like to say in this country, and I want to obey the laws."

In a speech at Grdina's Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, CANNON discussed the Communist setup in Russia and stated that the Russian leaders told the Americans present at the Fourth International (Fourth Congress?) that their energy should be devoted to the organization and support of a powerful labor party or labor union, and that time and propaganda be spent on the development of class consciousness among the workers of America.

Speaking at Carmen's Auditorium, Chicago, Illinois, on May 1, 1923, CANNON, as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, urged every Trade Unionist to get behind WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

Speaking at Richmond Hall, Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 11, 1923, CANNON stated that he was for seven months a fraternal member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Moscow.

In a speech at Franklin, Kansas, on June 17, 1923, he stated that the Russian Revolution is in the heart of every Rebel worker in the world - it's in America. He stated that Soviet Russia is not a country but a movement and that when the workers of Europe and America join the movement, it will be the end of capitalists.

- 6 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At Portland, Oregon, on July 3, 1923, CANNON advocated international revolution of the workers against capitalism, stating that the Russian Revolution was only a step in the world revolution. He also stated, "the present Communist Government of Russia is far superior to the capitalistic government of the United States."

In a meeting at Los Angeles, in July of 1923, CANNON spoke of the Fourth Communist Congress and declared that Soviet Russia in three years would have 10,000 planes carrying propaganda throughout Europe and some in America. He joyfully told the audience of the Communist victory in a Pennsylvania anthracite coal field election.

CANNON, together with ROBERT MINOR, requested seating at the Industrial Workers of the World Convention at Chicago, Illinois, on November 12, 1923 as a delegate of the Third International of Labor Unions. He also requested the convention to elect a delegate to the next convention of the Third International at Moscow. Upon being denied seating at this convention, a cable was then dispatched from the Executive Bureau of the Third International at Moscow authorizing CANNON and MINOR to speak in behalf of the International. (C)M

In a speech at Richmond Hall, Minneapolis, Minnesota, CANNON on February 3, 1924 stated that the Communist Party must become a militant organization and that each worker should prepare himself, join the Workers Party, bore from within, and when the time comes take up arms and fight and destroy for the purpose of ultimately obtaining his desires.

While speaking at the North Side Turner Hall, Chicago, Illinois, on April 13, 1924, CANNON stated that he wished that every Communist would endeavor to get as many members as possible to join the ranks and that in a short time they would be able to overthrow this capitalist country - the United States Government.

In 1924, CANNON was a member of a committee of four, consisting of JAY LOVESTONE, CHARLES E. RUTENBERG and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, which committee was appointed by the Communist International, whose purpose was to supervise the preparation of a platform for all Party work in all directions, such as election campaigns and economic and political work in general.

JAMES P. CANNON was a candidate for Governor of the State of New York in 1924 on the Workers Party ticket.

- 7 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NY 100-25905

Confidential Informant [ ] advised that each district of the Workers Party of America was to furnish a list of three names to the Central Committee of the Party for the purpose of sending workers into the Army. Informant advised that CHARLES KRUMBEIN forwarded his recommendations to Chicago on October 23, 1924. KRUMBEIN had stated that he did not know whom the Central Committee elected to send into the military services, stating that he only knows that CANNON and BITTELMAN constituted the "military commission" and that they will make the appointments. (S)

On April 14, 1925, this Informant advised that CANNON, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, C. E. RUTENBERG and JAY LOVESTONE are in Moscow and are expected back in the United States in three weeks. He stated that these four men constitute two delegations from the Workers Party of America, representing two trends in the Party and that they will present their viewpoints to the Communist International. FOSTER and CANNON were representing the majority group.

CANNON was the National Secretary of the International Labor Defense which was organized on June 28, 1925; Sunday, September 13, 1925, was designated "Labor Defense Day" and a number of demonstrations were planned. Speaking of these demonstrations, CANNON stated, "we are going to have these demonstrations in 100 cities from coast to coast and we are mobilizing a hundred of the best speakers in the labor movement to speak to them."

During the convention of the Workers Party of America in 1925 CANNON was made a member of the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee and was also a member of the Political Committee which was to discuss the work of the Party between meetings of the Central Executive Committee.

Minutes of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party reflect that in a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party held on January 4, 1926 a motion was made "that Comrades BEDACHT and CANNON be elected as representatives of the C.E.C. (Central Executive Committee) to appear before the convention and that they be made delegates to the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International)" (S) u

Speaking at Ford Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, on January 20, 1927, in commemoration of the third anniversary of the death of LENIN, held under the auspices of the Workers Party of America, CANNON stated:

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"If there are not a hundred thousand Communists now, there will be very soon. LENIN is alive in the New York labor movement; Oh, yes, LENIN is alive in sleepy old Boston though you may not know it. LENIN'S life should be held up as a model to the world. It was LENIN who was the guide of SACCO and VANZETTI. When you see the best spirits of our labor movement imprisoned, then you see who are following LENIN. LENIN belonged to the revolutionary socialist movement....The capitalist world is led by Mr. COOLIDGE and the United States. Against them is LENIN and Soviet Russia and this is the struggle today....Function of the United States Government is to beat down the working class. This movement in industry in the United States does not belong to us yet. The Federation of Labor is a slave pen. The workers lead miserable, unhappy and uneducated lives. The newspapers are only machines for the capitalists. The military forces, the jails and the judges are all in the interest of the employer's class. In this struggle is LENIN in Russia; opposed to him is COOLIDGE in the United States of America.

"COOLIDGE and Wall Street would enslave the workers of millions of peoples for years to come. That is America's aim led by Mr. COOLIDGE. In Russia, the aim of the other-world force is to organize working classes of the world with uprisings and revolutions all over the world - in China, in Mexico, and in India. The aim is to overturn the present system and get control....Communists are the spark which will illuminate the flame which will lighten up all the workers in America.... but we have darkness at home; our comrades are in prison, our comrades SACCO and VANZETTI. They are in prison for our cause. Don't forget that. I do not mean to tell you to tear down the prisons. That would be premature. They will be useful for us to use in the revolution. We will put the bourgeoisie in them and turn the tables....We are working today in China; we are working today with the British coal miners; we are working today in Soviet Russia; we are working today everywhere. Our time will come; America will topple. Our work will bear fruit. We, on this third anniversary of LENIN'S death, will take up his teachings. Today belongs to Capitalism; tomorrow belongs to us."

The minutes of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, dated February 24, 1927, reported that the World Congress of the MOPR was to be held on March 18, 1927 and that CANNON had been instructed by cable to attend. His presence at the Comintern Executive meeting in 1927 was desired by Moscow. He was considered as one of five persons in the United States who was sufficiently alive and responsible to make his attendance worth-while. (X) u

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CANNON was elected to the Polbureau of the Communist Party and was Executive Secretary of the International Labor Defense in 1927.

On December 16, 1927, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America appointed a new "military and strategy committee" and CANNON was one of those appointed. This list was on its way to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow for approval. (X) U

The American Labor Yearbook for 1929 indicates that CANNON at the Fifth Convention of the Workers Party, September 1, through 6, 1927, was elected to the Central Executive Committee.

The following quote is taken from the same source: "Shortly after his return from the Moscow Congress in 1928, JAMES P. CANNON, a prominent member of the minority on the Central Executive Committee, began preparation to organize an open movement in support of TROTSKY and against the administration of the Communist International. He was summarily expelled from the Party on October 27 - together with two other members of the Committee, MARTIN ABERN, former Secretary of the Young Workers League, and MAX SCHACHTMAN, Editor of the 'Labor Defendant.'"

The American Labor Yearbook for 1930 states that CANNON was the outstanding leader of the Communist League of America in 1929.

Information was received on January 16, 1936 that CANNON was a leader of the Spartacus Club, a TROTSKYITE group in Youngstown, Ohio.

The "New York Times" in an article in its August 12, 1937 issue indicated CANNON to be a member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in California.

In October of 1937, CANNON was candidate for Mayor of New York City on the Socialist Party (Left Wing) ticket.

The letterhead of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees indicates CANNON to be a member of this organization on June 27, 1938.

A leaflet announcing a LENIN Memorial Meeting at Irving Plaza Hall, New York City, which was to be held on January 23, 1938 under

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the auspices of the local New York Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City, indicates that the Socialist Workers Party was recently founded in Chicago and it appeared that JAMES P. CANNON was the National Secretary.

The purposes of the Party were given as follows: (1) To continue the traditions of LENIN; (2) to fight against the STALINIST usurpers of LENIN'S banner; (3) to struggle against all false friends of the working class; and (4) to lead the workers in their struggle against the bosses, against war, Fascism and wage slavery.

On April 14, 1938, an anti-war rally was held at the CENTER HOTEL, New York City, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, the slogan of which was "Down with the War Makers." CANNON mentioned during the course of his talk a trip which he had made to Mexico to visit LEON TROTSKY, the "grant old lion," whom he praised very highly. CANNON was active in soliciting funds for the TROTSKY defense fund.

An article in the "New York Herald Tribune," dated August 29, 1940 states that JAMES P. CANNON spoke at a TROTSKY Memorial Meeting on August 28, 1940. CANNON was stated to have said that all kinds of refugees including Marxists and Fascists have been welcomed in New York Harbor but not even the dead body of the friend of the oppressed (TROTSKY) could be brought here. "We shall," he said, "nourish that grievance close to our hearts and in good time will take our revenge."

On July 15, 1941, at St. Paul, Minnesota, CANNON, together with twenty-eight others, was indicted on a charge of conspiracy to destroy by force the Government of the United States and conspiracy with intent to interfere with, impair, and influence the loyalty, morale, and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States by advising, counselling, urging and causing insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty. He was arrested in New York City on July 25, 1941 and was released the same day on \$2,500 bond. CANNON and seventeen other members of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted on December 1, 1941 on the second count of the indictment charging seditious conspiracy. The case was appealed <sup>but</sup> by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 20, 1943, this decision was upheld. The case is presently being appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

On November 8, 1942, the Socialist Workers Party held a mass meeting at Irving Plaza, New York City, to celebrate the 25th

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anniversary of the Russian Revolution. CANNON, in his speech, stated anyone who trusts the Anglo-American Capitalist Imperialism is a traitor to the Soviet Union. CANNON asked the members to support the revolutionary policies of the Social Workers Party and to carry these policies to a world revolution. That policy, he explained, started in Russia twenty-five years ago and has been kept alive by such organizations as the Socialist Workers Party. He stated that the ultimate goal of the Party is an achievement of a world revolution and workers all over the world would share in the benefits received therefrom.

On November 4, 1942, CANNON was interviewed by Bureau Agents of the New York Office at Socialist Workers Party Headquarters, 116 University Place, New York City, in connection with another investigation. At this time, he advised that he was born in Rosedale, Kansas, on February 11, 1890, and that he presently resides at 128 W. 11th Street, New York City, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. WALTER ROSS. CANNON stated he had been National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party since the Party was organized on October 15, 1928 except for a short period of time in 1935 and 1936, during which period E. J. MUSTY served the Party as National Secretary, while he, CANNON, acted as Editor of "The Militant," a Socialist Workers Party publication.

Prior to October 15, 1928, CANNON stated that he and the older members of the Socialist Workers Party were members of the Communist Party of the United States. CANNON advised that he assisted in the organization of the Communist Party in the United States and served on its political committee until he was expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party because he and his associates, who later formed a Socialist Workers Party, adhered to and advocated orthodox Marxism as taught by LEON TROTSKY. He advised that the principles and ideals of the Socialist Workers Party were drastically different and in direct opposition to the Stalinistic principles of the Communist Party. He stated that the purpose and object of the Socialist Workers Party were to establish throughout the world a Socialistic Government which would supplant all existing forms of government. CANNON stated this object would be achieved through peaceful means by resorting to organized political activity by the use of the ballot, by lecturing and writing, and in short by propagandizing the people by peaceful means.

CANNON stated that if the Party or its members either as a group or as individuals would resort to terrorism, sabotage or assassination

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or other measures, such action would utterly defeat the goal set by the Party. He stated that the present world war is a capitalistic war except for the war which is being waged by Russia against her foes and except the war which China is fighting against Japan. He explained that in the eyes of the Party, the wars presently being fought by Russia and China are peoples' wars waged against Capitalism and, therefore, these two wars are justified by the Socialist Workers Party. He stated that all the other wars which are presently being fought are condemned by the Socialist Workers Party.

A pamphlet published by the Pioneer Publishers for the Socialist Workers Party dated September, 1943, contains a speech delivered by CANNON in New York on May 30, 1943, entitled "The End of the Comintern and the Prospects of Labor Internationalism," portions of which are hereinafter quoted. Pages eighteen and nineteen contain the following paragraphs:

"The Third International, which has ended now in shame and disgrace, has, nevertheless, left behind the richest treasures for the future. Its founders, LENIN and TROTSKY, belong to us; nobody can dissolve the tie that binds the new generation of revolutionary workers to LENIN and TROTSKY, to their teachings and example and beautiful memory. The record of the long internal struggle from 1923 to this date, the struggle of TROTSKY and his co-thinkers and disciples, belong to the proletariat of the world. The record of that struggle is the basic literature upon which the whole new generation, which is destined to lead the world, will be educated and trained. The first four Congresses of the Comintern, held under LENIN'S leadership, in 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 - four Congresses and four years - produced documents which are the basic program of the movement that we uphold today....

"We know very well and we don't try to conceal the fact that the numbers of the Fourth International are small. But its ideas are correct, its program represents historical necessity, and, therefore, its victory is assured. Its program consciously formulates the distinctive demands of the workers and the peoples for emancipation from capitalism, Fascism and war....

"The song which no STALIN can render obsolete and its chorus with the words: 'The International shall be the human race.' ....

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"We disciples of MARX, LENIN and TROTSKY, we partisans of the Fourth International retain undimmed that vision of the future. To see that vision even now, to see it clearly through the fire and the smoke of the war, is simply to be in accord with historical development to foresee the inevitable march of events and to prepare for them. To fight for this vision of the Socialist future, to hasten to realization is the highest privilege and the greatest happiness for a civilized man or woman in the world today."

To emphasize the intentions of this Fourth International, the last paragraph of the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Dissolution of the Comintern", issued on June 12, 1943, by "The Executive Committee of the World Party of Socialist Revolution" (Fourth International) which appeared in the same pamphlet as CANNON'S speech, is being set out:

"Workers of all lands! Rally to the proud and stainless banner of the Fourth International! We are approaching the fifth year of the second imperialist world war. It is a year certain to out-strip all the others in human slaughter and material devastation. Before it closes, however, the first great battles of the proletarian revolution may already begin. Once again out of the vast sea of human suffering of war will arise the unconquerable opportunity of the International proletariats, determined to complete this time the task begun with the October revolution.

"The aroused workers will drop like cast-off garments the habits of servitude and make a new world. In struggle, the great masses will find in themselves inexhaustible reservoirs of revolutionary fortitude and heroism. In those days, nearer at hand than any of your dream, the cadres of the Fourth International will speedily begin transforming into great mass parties leading tens and hundreds of millions in the conflict. Comrades and fellow workers! Above all else, the toiling peoples now need the International to lead them. There is only one International now, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International. Enter its ranks and prepare with it to lead the successful struggle for the world revolution!"

A check of the records of Local Draft Board No. 17 covering his residence failed to reflect that CANNON was registered with that Board under the Selective Service Act.

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CANNON'S description is set out as follows:

Age:	53
Birthplace:	Rosedale, Kansas
Birth Date:	February 11, 1890
Nationality:	Irish
Height:	5' 9"
Weight:	185 pounds
Hair:	Gray
Eyes:	Light Blue
Complexion:	Medium
Build:	Medium Stout
Scars:	Thumb of right hand removed at base.
Occupation:	National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City.
Residence:	128 W. 11th Street, Apt. No. 71, New York City
Wife:	ROSE KARSNER
Police Number:	United States Marshal, St. Paul, Minnesota, No. 4900
Criminal Record:	None known

P E N D I N G

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UNDEVELOPED LEADS

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THE WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION:

At Washington, D. C.

Will at the Passport Division of the State Department obtain all pertinent information relative to the trips out of the United States taken by CANNON, noting that he was at the Fourth Congress in Moscow on June 13, 1922 and that he was in Europe in March or April, 1925, in 1928 and in 1938.

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION:

At New York City, New York

Will attempt to locate CANNON'S Draft Board and report information contained therein.

Will continue to report the activities of JAMES P. CANNON.

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

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The Confidential Informant mentioned in the report of Special Agent STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, Jr., New York City, dated November 6, 1943 is as follows:

T-1 -

[REDACTED]  
Street, New York City, who requested that her identity be kept confidential.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

FILE NO. **100-14679**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12-20-43</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>11-27-43</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>ROY O. STUART</b> <b>ROS:mcr</b>
TITLE <b>JAMES PATRICK CANNON, was James Cook, Redwell, Karaner</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS**

Passport was issued to JAMES PATRICK CANNON on January 3, 1939 for a proposed trip to England to visit and travel for six months. Previous to this time passports were issued to the subject October 8, 1934 for a proposed trip to England and France and on October 31, 1923 for a proposed trip to Brazil and Argentina.

RUC **MAR 11, 1946** SP-6 AGK/H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE **8/9/50** BY **SP-7 mcr/DS**

**REFERENCE:**

Report of Special Agent STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, JR. dated November 6, 1943 at New York.

**DETAILS:**

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

FOIA(b) (7) - (D)

is known to the Bureau produced State Department file from which it was determined that passport #595113 was issued to JAMES PATRICK CANNON on January 3, 1939 for a proposed trip to England to visit and travel for six months. He advised that he was born at Kansas City (Rosedale), Kansas on February 11, 1890; that he was residing at 5 Washington Square, New York City, where he followed the occupation of journalist; and intended to leave New York in the first week of January, 1939.

**COPIES DESTROYED**

**153 JUL 6 1960**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-14679-18</b>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>5 - Bureau</b> <b>4 - New York (1 - Col. S.V. Constant, G-2; 1 - Capt. R.C. MacFall, ONI)</b> <b>2 - Washington Field</b> <b>COPY IN FILE</b>	<b>23 DEC 22 1943</b> <i>[Signature]</i>	<b>INDEXED</b> <b>EX-52</b>

154 J  
WFO 100-14679

On October 8, 1934 a passport was issued to the subject for a proposed trip to England and France to visit for two months. This passport was renewed on May 24, 1938, valid until October 8, 1938. In 1934 CANNON listed his permanent address as 144 Second Avenue, New York City and PAUL FISHER, Lawyer, 715 West 172d Street, New York City, who had known CANNON for six years, acted as the usual identifying witness to his passport application.

Previous to this time a passport was issued to the subject on October 30, 1923 for a proposed trip to Brazil and Argentina for his health and to travel. He advised at the time he had never resided outside the United States. A Certificate of Birth Affidavit was executed by his father, JOHN CANNON, 1207 West Gillam Road, Kansas City, Missouri, at this time.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/pbs  
MAR 4 1996 SP-6 AG/KH

*James P. Cannon. Photo. J.P.*

CANNON, JAMES P.

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NO RECORDS  
27 MAR 4 1944

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ENCLOSURE



James P. Cannon  
Taken from July 1938 issue of  
National Republic, p.18

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/9/90 BY SP-7 mcf/BJ  
MAR 4 1996 SP6 HC/CH



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

N.Y. FILE NO. **100-25905** **DEC**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>7-3-44</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5/6; 6/15, 16/44</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, JR.</b>
TITLE <b>JAMES PATRICK CANNON, with aliases James Cook, Redwell, Karsner</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; transform: rotate(-45deg); transform-origin: left top; width: fit-content;"> <p><del>Limited Classification Review Conducted See Top Serial Form 4-7-44</del></p> </div> <div style="background-color: black; color: white; padding: 5px; transform: rotate(-90deg); transform-origin: left top; width: fit-content;"> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-1-84 BY SP-6 AG/STH</p> </div> </div> <div style="width: 65%;"> <p><b>CANNON, a member of the National and Political Committees of the Socialist Workers Party, attended Plenum of the National Committee at New York City October 29 through November 1, 1943. Surrendered to Federal Authorities, Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 31, 1943 to begin 16 months sentence. Incarcerated Federal Correctional Institution, Sandstone, Minnesota. GEORGE NOVACK, Secretary of Civil Rights Defense Committee, in letter to NATALIA TROTSKY, quotes subject as saying that all prisoners are studying and utilizing the opportunity to make themselves more effective agents of the Revolutionary Movement when they are free. Subject registered Local Draft Board #16, New York City. Stop Notice placed.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">- C -</p> </div> </div>			
<p><b>REFERENCE:</b> Report of Special Agent STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, JR. dated November 6, 1943 at New York, New York.</p>			
<p><b>DETAILS:</b> <u>At New York City.</u></p> <p>Subject is considered a key figure in the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
<p>⑤ Bureau 1 Col. S.V. Constant, D of I, 2 S/C 4 New York</p> <p>153 JUL 6 1944</p> <p>COPY IN FILE</p>		<p><b>100-159214-21</b></p> <p><b>37 JUL 7 1944</b></p>	
		<p>RECORDED &amp; INDEXED</p> <p>EX - 7</p>	

**55 OCT 1 1944**

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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Subject on December 31, 1943 surrendered to the Federal Authorities at Minneapolis, Minnesota to begin a 16 month sentence under conviction on December 8, 1941 for violation of the Smith Act. He was subsequently incarcerated at the Federal Correctional Institution at Sandstone, Minnesota.

A letter written by CANNON at the Institution addressed to Local Board #16, New York City, reflected that he would apply for parole on June 9, 1944 and that if he is not paroled he is scheduled for conditional release with statutory good time on January 23, 1945. His full term expires April 29, 1945.

The St. Paul Field Division advised that a Stop Notice was placed so that the St. Paul and the New York Field Divisions and the Bureau would be advised prior to the release of the subject. It was also stated that CANNON is under the supervision of Special Panel Local Board #1, Pine County, Minnesota, which Local Board is located at the Reformatory.

The subject is registered with Local Board #16, New York City as of April 27, 1942 under Serial number U-667. His residence was given as Nine James Street, New York City and his mailing address as 116 University Place which is the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. He stated that he was born February 11, 1890 at Rosedale, Kansas. He gave as the person who would always know his address - ROSE KARSNER, Nine James Street who is his wife and gave as his employer the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 116 University Place. His Social Security number was given as 092-14-5780. He gave his marital status as widower and stated that he has been National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party since January 1938.

Additional background information concerning the subject is set out as follows: This information appeared in the Civil Rights Defense Committee Pamphlet published in the Spring of 1944 entitled:

"WHO ARE THE 18 PRISONERS IN THE MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE?"

JAMES P. CANNON

"Over 30 years ago James P. Cannon took the road of unceasing struggle on behalf of and in defense of the working-class. Through hardships and travail he has never wavered from that road. Cannon was brought up in the prairie town of Rosedale, Kansas, where he was born in 1890. His father, now 86 years old, was a foundry-man and a Debs socialist. His mother was a devout Catholic. Like many workers' families, the Cannons lived in grinding poverty.

"When he was 12 his mother died. At this early age, he had to go to work, 60 hours a week at a packing-house plant. He worked 70 hours a week in a railroad yard when he was 14. He yearned for education, for the ability to express himself and his ideas, and became a voracious reader of books. He entered high-school at the age of 16, and after graduating, returned to work and began the study of law at night. Finally he abandoned his law studies and became active in the labor movement.

In 1908 Cannon joined the Socialist Party in Kansas City. He became a migratory worker, traveling around, getting what jobs he could, organizing and educating in the interest of working-class solidarity. In 1911 he joined in the militant upsurge of the IWW. He met and worked with the great figures of that movement - Vincent St. John, Frank Little, Big Bill Haywood.

During this period he participated actively in many of the historic IWW struggles; as organizer in the first 1913 Akron Rubber Strike, in the Peoria Metal Workers and Duluth and Superior Ore dock strikes. He was indicted for conspiracy in the 1913 Peoria strike. Later in 1919 he was indicted by the federal government for his activities in the Kansas Coal Miners' strike.

Cannon aided the work of the ~~Sacco-Vanzetti~~ Committee by organizing a series of mass demonstrations from coast to coast on behalf of these two labor martyrs. Hundreds of thousands of workers were mobilized for these demonstrations through local trade union conferences. Today this labor defender is himself a victim of anti-labor persecution.

A foundation member of the American Communist Party, Cannon was expelled in 1928 because he defended the ideas of Leon Trotsky. He and others then founded the American Trotskyist movement, now known as the Socialist Workers Party, of which Cannon is the National Secretary.

Sandstone, Minn. - 16 months"

Copies of the photograph of the subject appearing in this pamphlet were obtained and are being retained in the case file of this office.

Confidential Informant T-1 advised that the Postal Telegraph Company of Sacramento, California on May 24, 1940 received the

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following telegram signed by "J.P. CANNON" for delivery to NORMAN MINI 3231 1/2 Riverside Boulevard, Sacramento, California:

"MACHINE GUN MOB ATTACK TROTSKY SHOWS IMPERATIVE IMMEDIATE NECESSITY STRENGTHEN GUARD AND DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. POLITICAL TURMOIL MEXICO INDICATE DANGER ANOTHER ATTEMPT. RECEIVED MOST URGENT APPEAL FOR AID, DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON U.S. MUST RAISE NECESSARY FUNDS WITHOUT DELAY. YOUR QUOTA TWENTY DOLLARS. RAISE BY EMERGENCY MEASURES NEXT FEW DAYS. ANSWER VIA POSTAL TELEGRAPH. "

J.P. CANNON

The PIONEER PUBLISHERS of New York in July, 1943, printed the latest book of JAMES P. CANNON entitled: "THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY". This book has to do with the struggle between JAMES P. CANNON and the majority of the Socialist Workers Party on the one hand and the minority lead by MAX SHACHTMAN, MARTIN AHERN and JAMES BURNHAN on the other hand over the question of the support of the Soviet Union after the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the Russian attacks on the small European nations adjoining it. A large portion of the book is taken up with correspondence between CANNON and LEON TROTSKY and between CANNON and various Socialist Workers Party members on the question of the support of the Soviet Union. The struggle culminated in a split-up with the minority forming the Workers' Party under the leadership of MAX SHACHTMAN.

Confidential Informant T-2 advised that JACK HASTON, leader of the Trotskyites in England, on January 7, 1943 filed the following cable to JAMES CANNON, 116 University Place, New York City:

"BOB ARMSTRONG LEADING MEMBER WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE INTERNATIONALS BRIGADIER ALSO INTERNED BELFAST DRIVE AGAINST TROTSKYISTS ULSTER SECOND LAST MORE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE URGENTLY NEEDED 61 NORTHDOWN ST. LONDON N1 AIR LETTER VARIOUS DETAILS".

Confidential Informant T-3 who has access to correspondence of various Socialist Workers Party members, advised that ROSE KARSNER 116 University Place, New York City and wife of the subject, in a letter dated April 4, 1944 to WALTER FORKE, Avenida Viena 19, Coyoacan D.F. Mexico, who was secretary to NATALIA TROTSKY, enclosed a type-written note which is quoted as follows:

"DON: (Duncan Ferguson) (new secretary to NATALIA TROTSKY) told N. (Natalia Trotsky) that Jim (James P. Cannon) says:

" 'I was especially glad to hear that all is well with "the boy" (SEVA, TROTSKY's grandson) and Don and De Mila. I think of him often and want to do something for his future. He should think of me as his American uncle whom he can always rely on'. If she thinks it advisable, she can tell him this."

It is noted that the above message was transmitted subsequent to CANNON's incarceration.

MORRIS, who is undoubtedly MORRIS STEIN, Acting National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party since CANNON's imprisonment, in a letter dated April 22, 1944 the cover of which was addressed to WALTER KETLEY, true name of WALTER HORKE at the same address in Mexico, enclosed a letter addressed to Dear Don which is DUNCAN FERGUSON. The following portion of the letter is being set out to indicate that CANNON and his imprisoned associates are planning further activities of the Socialist Workers Party while in prison.

"According to the plans that Jim (James P. Cannon) and his associates (13 Party members in Sandstone Penitentiary with Cannon have been adumbrating, and about which they have been writing us, the next expansion will take place in the setting up of a real National School about which he (Cannon) writes as follows:

"I am seeing about a Party School as an institution which organizes, directs and supervises the education of all Party members from the new recruit to the N.C. (National Committee) member who is a candidate for active participation in international work. one department - one college in the university, so to speak - will be the full-time school for the training of candidates for professional Party work and for Party workers who require a thorough knowledge prior to their assuming more responsible functions. Before completing my thesis on the establishment of the school I would like to get some concrete information about the experiences of our predecessors and models, the Russian Bolsheviks. (We may be able to learn something also from the Mensheviks) in a technical sense. I wish you would write N. (Natalia Trotsky) and ask her what help she can give me on this problem - from her recollections and her

" " ideas in general. There have been many referendes to a school at Capri, I see. What was it? How was it organized, how financed, what was its curriculum, etc? Ask USICK (John G. Wright alias Joseph Vanzler, acting editor of The Militant) to see what he can find in the history of the Russians on this subject."

'If Pioneer's (Pioneer Publishers) new list is printed, I wish you would send me a copy. I want to check it over as a preliminary to some suggestions I intend to offer for an expansion of the publishing activity. One thing I have in mind is to start a project of a Pioneer Classical Library - new editions of the student pamphlets of our masters with new intruductions and in some cases if necessary, new translations'."

The writer and Special Agent T.C. KIRKPATRICK were in a position to hear the proceedings of the National Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party held at Irving Plaza, New York City from October 29 through November 1, 1943 at which CANNON was present.

During the course of one of the speeches, CANNON indicated that all of the persons present at the Plenum were members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and that these members of the National Committee who resided in New York City or were temporarily visiting New York City were automatically members of the Political Committee. It appears from the above that CANNON is a member of both the National and Political Committee.

FARRELL DOBBS, speaking on October 31, 1943 in support of CANNON, stated that CANNON recognized that "the old man" (Trotsky) was greater than he (Cannon) and that Cannon collaborated with the "old man" in every way possible.

FELIX MORROW, Editor of the "Fourth Internationale" magazine, during the course of a speech at the Plenum, stated that CANNON had often said in the past, "Trotsky is my brain".

CANNON, the final speaker on the International Resolution on October 31, 1943 stated:

"In view of this revolutionary epoch we must conceive of the party as a combatant party and from that is derived the concept of Democratic Centralization."

CANNON stated that he, SAM GORDON, JOSEPH HANSEN and GEORGE CLARKE were in Mexico a few months before TROTSKY's death at which time TROTSKY requested CANNON to support EARL BROWDER on the Communist Party ticket. CANNON refused and TROTSKY had to defer to him.

On October 30, 1943 CANNON attended a banquet of the Socialist Workers Party celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of TROTSKYISM in the United States which was held at WERDERMAN's HALL, 16th Street and Third Avenue, New York City. Confidential Informant T-4 advised that CANNON delivered a well-prepared address to the comrades. He announced that a Plenum of the National Committee had been meeting in New York during the past two days and that important resolutions particularly concerning conditions in Italy had been drawn up which would be available to the Comrades in a short time. He called for renewed vigor in the revolutionary struggle and declared that if time is measured in historical struggles it will not be long before the corpse of capitalism is murdered and Socialism put into practice.

The November 6, 1943 issue of "The Militant" reported that CANNON's speech at the Banquet was quoted as follows:(in part)

"We did not have many weapons when we were cast out of the Communist Party in 1928. All we had was the program of TROTSKYISM, the conviction that it was true, and that truth will make its way if you fight for it. I first found out what TROTSKY really stood for when I was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928 when I accidentally got hold of a mutilated translation of his Draft Program. When I read it, I knew what the struggle between TROTSKY and STALIN was about — and what I had to do.

We had to fight for 15 years against the strain to create cadres by a slow process of education about the causes of defeats the working class has suffered during this period of reaction. From the day of our expulsion on October 28, 1928 from the Communist Party to this gathering we have a record without a stain. We have had a lot of difficulties, but we also had fun in the fight and not a few fond memories.

Great efforts are now being prepared the like of which the world has never dreamed. We saw breaking through the war signs of the coming day: the liberation struggles of the Indian people; the victories of the Soviet Union; the overthrow of Italian fascism by the uprising of the masses after twenty years



"of totalitarian terror; finally, the beginning of the European Revolution. The German Proletariat will soon move into the enemy and urge its great strength and power.

Those madmen in Washington and London think that they can make a colony of Europe and police the world for 100 years. The master in the house of Europe will become the workers themselves. Sparks from the European Revolution will fly to the United States, take fire and burn furiously because the tinder here is dry.

Our party is preparing itself for a great mission; insofar as we have helped to do that, we have justified our past fifteen years. Man needs a cause that is greater than self. Our party is the anticipation of the Communist tomorrow of mankind.

The first fifteen years were the easiest. The next fifteen will be harder. But they will be the years of the final conflict and victory of our movement."

Confidential Informant T-5 received information from T-6 concerning a letter mailed by George Novack on May 2, 1944 from 19 West 10th Street, New York City, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, addressed to NATALIA TROTSKY, 19 Avenida Viena Coyoacan, D.F. Mexico, in which NOVACK gave a complete account of his visit with the 14 prisoners at Sandstone Penitentiary, Minnesota in order to give a report to them concerning the growth of the Party and of the progress of the National campaign for their freedom.

Portions of NOVACK's letter which quote CANNON are set out as follows:

"Here are a few of Jim's (James P. Cannon) remarks as spokesman for the 14.

'Everybody here is in good health and in excellent spirit. They are all reading, studying and utilizing the opportunity to make themselves more effective agents of the Revolutionary Movement when they are free. . . . '

Referring to the studies being carried on by the prisoners, NOVACK states:

"Jim observes in regard to this educational group:



" 'Since Czarist days and long before, prisons have been the universities of the Revolutionary Movement. We are doing our best here at Sandstone to continue that tradition. We are not the last class of war prisoners who will be jailed for their revolutionary ideas and labor activities. We are trying to set an example for those who will follow us into Capitalist jails in this country. We do not want to lose time in prison. We intend to get something in return for the liberties taken away from us.' "

"Jim's last message to the Comrades was this:

'The Comrades must keep clearly in mind the fact that there will undoubtedly be a revolution among the masses against this war when they come to realize that they were deceived; that it brought them nothing but disorders and destruction. He has never forgotten how that revolution grew out of the last war - reaction against this war is bound to be far greater and more radical. In this period ahead, as then, everyone in the labor movement and in labor circles who laid the terms for war, duped and sold out the workers, would be discredited. The masses would not listen to them. They would listen only to those who were against the war, told the truth to the workers and had the courage of their convictions. The only party that they can turn toward is ours because we never betrayed them. They will have boundless trust and confidence in our program and leadership and that is why we can be optimistic about the future.' "

In view of the fact that the subject is presently imprisoned, this case is being closed.

- C L O S E D -

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, JR. dated July 3, 1944 at New York, New York are as follows:

- T-1 Report of Special Agent T.S. FERGUSON dated June 18, 1940 at San Francisco, in the case entitled NORMAN L. MINI - ESPIONAGE.
- T-2 Cable Censorship
- T-3 Postal Censorship
- T-4 Special Operator #15, Special Squad #1, New York Police Department, undercover member of the Socialist Workers Party.
- T-5 Report of Special Agent LEO ANTHONY SCHON dated June 9, 1944 at San Francisco, California in the case entitled, "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY \* SAN FRANCISCO FIELD DIVISION: INTERNAL SECURITY - R".
- T-6 Postal Censorship

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SJG:DEC  
100-25905

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: JAMES PATRICK CANNON, was  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: July 4, 1944

Subject surrendered to Federal Authorities at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on December 31, 1943 to begin a sixteen month sentence for violation of the Smith Act and was incarcerated at the Federal Correctional Institution at Sandstone, Minnesota.

CANNON may apply for parole June 9, 1944. In the event he is not paroled he is scheduled for conditional release with statutory good time on January 23, 1945. His full term expires on April 29, 1945.

A Stop Notice was placed by the St. Paul Field Division so that the St. Paul and New York Field Divisions and the Bureau will be advised prior to the subject's release.

The subject's security index card has been placed in his case file.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/6/80 BY SP-7 mac/ab  
MAR 4, 1976 SR6 ACK

RECORDED

100-159214-22

37 JUL 7 1944

EX-7

58 JUL 5 1944

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: January 25, 1945

FROM : SAC, St. Paul

SUBJECT: JAMES P. CANNON  
SECURITY MATTER - SWP  
Bureau File ~~62-10523~~

By letter dated January 11, 1945, Mr. . W. HUMPHREY, Warden, Federal Correctional Institution, Sandstone, Minnesota, advised that CANNON would be released from that institution on January 24, 1945, and furnished transportation to New York City. He will thenceforth be under the supervision of Mr. HAROLD R. DEAN, Chief U.S. Probation Officer, Southern District of New York, New York until April 30, 1945. According to the Warden, CANNON stated that he will live at 116 University Place, New York City. Warden HUMPHREY further advised that a letter which he had written to Selective Service Headquarters in Albany, New York, has not been answered and that therefore he is unable to furnish the number of the subject's New York City Local Board. He said, however, the subject stated that his Board is located at 7th Avenue South and 11th Street, New York City, but he did not remember the Board number.

AMC:LMB  
100-1685

cc New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/6/00 BY SP-6 AG/CH

100-151214-23

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-25905**

MD

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>3/23/45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3/10, 12-14/45</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, Jr.</b>
TITLE CHANGED <b>JAMES PATRICK CANNON, with aliases: James Cook, Redwell, Karanery, Walter, Martin</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - S.W.P.</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

"The History of American Trotskyism" by JAMES P. CANNON, was published in 1944 by Pioneer Publishers. It traces the history of the Trotskyist movement beginning with the inception of the Communist Party in 1928. Subject conditionally released from Sandstone Penitentiary 1/24/45 and is under supervision U.S. Probation Office, SDNY, until 4/30/45. Correspondence with NATALIA TROTSKY reflects CANNON while in prison formulated thesis on a new Trotsky school to be established by the S.W.P. He was re-elected to the National Committee of the S.W.P. by the National Convention on 11/19/44. CANNON resides at 128 W. 11th St., Apt. 71, and as of 3/1/45 advised Probation Office that he is employed by S.W.P. as national secretary, but is taking a short vacation from his duties. He has FBI number 2382445.

**Limit Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 4-714**

- P -

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau files 100-159214 and 61-10528.  
Report of Special Agent Stanley J. Grabowski, Jr. dated July 3, 1944, at New York, New York.

**DETAILS:**

The title of this report is being marked changed to indicate additional aliases of the subject to be **WALTER** and **MARTIN**.

Subject is considered to be a key figure in Socialist Workers Party activities in the New York Field Division.

This case is being reopened in view of the fact that subject was released from Sandstone Penitentiary on January 24, 1945, and is

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>E. E. [Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT (5) - Bureau (Encl. 1) 1 - Col. S. V. Constant, D of I 2 SC 3 - New York		100-159214-24	RECORDED
		MAR 28 1945	EX-60
DR 6-2-45 COPY DESTROYED 153 JUL 6 1960			

NY 100-25905

national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, 3, New York, publishing house of the Socialist Workers Party, in 1944, published "The History of American Trotskyism" by JAMES P. CANNON. This book contains a series of lectures originally delivered in the spring of 1942 in New York City by CANNON. The cover indicates that "This is the history of the origin and development of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. The author is the founder and most prominent leader of this movement..."

"The first three chapters trace the development of the American Communist movement from its inception in 1919 through the internal struggles in the Communist Party, which culminated in the split in 1928. CANNON a delegate of the American Communist Party to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, returned from its sessions in Moscow, convinced of the correctness of TROTSKY's program and struggle against the STALIN Bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, and with the support of others he raised the banner of Trotskyism in this country."

This book also indicates that while CANNON was a member of the Communist Party he was known as Comrade COOK.

Upon CANNON's surrender to Federal authorities at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on December 31, 1943, MORRIS STEIN became acting national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Informant T-1 reported that on December 26, 1943, about 250 party members and friends attended a farewell banquet for the eighteen convicted S.W.P. leaders at the Irving Plaza ballroom. CANNON in his farewell address stated that his present predicament and that of the other defendants has not brought bitterness or despair but rather a determination to see that the fight is carried on regardless of cost.

Confidential Informant T-2 in March, 1944, reported that aliases of JAMES P. CANNON are MARTIN and WALTER.

Informant T-2 advised that MORRIS STEIN in a letter dated April 22, 1944, to WALTER KETLEY, Avenida Viena 19, Coyoacan, D. F. MEXICO, (who is identical with WALTER ROURKE, secretary to NATALIA TROTSKY) stated, "JIM (JAMES P. CANNON) and his associates (other S.W.P. leaders incarcerated in Sandstone Penitentiary with him) have been adumbrating, and about which they have been writing us, the next expansion will take place in the setting up of a real national school, about which he (CANNON) writes as follows:

"I am thinking about the party school as an institution which organizes, directs and supervises the education of all party

"members from the new recruits to the N.C. (National Committee) member who is a candidate for active participation in international work. One department - one college - university, so to speak - will be a full time school for the training of candidates for professional party work and for party workers who require a broadening of their knowledge prior to their promotion to higher bodies and more responsible functions. Before completing my thesis on the aspect of the school, I would like to get some concrete information about the experiences of our predecessors and models, the Russian Bolsheviks. (We may be able to learn something also, from the Mensheviks - in a technical sense.) I wish you would write NATALIA (NATALIA TROTSKY) and ask her what help she can give me on this problem - from her recollections, and her ideas in general. There have been many references to a school at Capri, I think. What was it, how was it organized, how financed, what was its curriculum, etc.? Ask Usick (identical with JOHN G. WRIGHT, alias JOSEPH VANZLER, National Committee member, considered to be theorist of the S.W.P., and an alleged member of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International) to see what he can find in the history of the Russians on this subject."

ROSE KARSNER, 116 University Place, New York, 3, New York, wife of CANNON, sent a letter dated July 4, 1944, to DON O'ROURKE in Mexico (identical with DUNCAN FERGUSON, NATALIA TROTSKY's new secretary). This letter headed "Dear Natalia" stated "Most of Jim's (JAMES P. CANNON's) letters are of a political nature with a few personal lines interspersed here and there. He has permitted himself to write quite freely. The entire thesis on education was written through his letters to me. And he also sent us quite a number of motions for consideration."

KARSNER told of CANNON's studies in prison, enumerating Philosophy, Greek History, French, Spanish and German. "I too am studying Spanish and a number of other comrades are also studying one or another of the foreign languages under JIM's stimulus, because, as he puts it: 'The party leaders of the future must have a real world view and speak the world languages.'"

KARSNER spoke of the thesis on education which she hoped NATALIA had received as "Jim and the others are very eager to get your opinion, observations, and advice based on your personal experiences. As you will see by the thesis the school is to be known as the Trotsky School, and the aim is to train not only the new recruits, but the party organizers and leaders..."

A copy of "The Party Builder" an internal bulletin, volume number one, dated August, 1944, issued by the National Education Department, of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, on pages two through ten, inclusive, contains an article by "Comrade Martin", who is identical with the subject, entitled "Comments on the Educational Plan" which sets out a more detailed discussion of the educational plan of

CANNON as previously set forth in a letter from MORRIS STEIN to WALTER KETLEY. This article discusses (1) the necessity of an educational plan, (2) the aims and methods of the party educational system and (3) the national full time training school. Under the latter sub-division MARTIN states that "All expenses of the students during their attendance at the Trotsky School will be paid by the party out of special funds earmarked for the Educational Department."

MARTIN closes his article by stating, "I am sorry that I cannot cast it (this article) in better literary form, but conditions here are not the most favorable for such work. There are neither facilities nor time for copying, rewriting and polishing, and I feel constrained by space limitations to squeeze everything into the smallest possible compass."

T-3 reported that a letter to the Attorney General signed by VICTOR E. ~~X~~ANDERSON, U.S.A., St. Paul, Minnesota, indicated that an application for Executive clemency on the part of CANNON was received on August 11, 1944 and quoted the following statement of CANNON:

"My imprisonment is a violation of my Constitutional rights. In asking for an unconditional pardon on those grounds I wish to make it clear that I have not changed any of the views for which I was imprisoned as stated by me and other defendants at the trial."

T-2 reported that ELAINE ~~X~~ROSELAND in a letter to DE MILA ~~X~~FERGUSON dated October 3, 1944, quoted RAY ~~X~~DUNNE (VINCENT R. ~~X~~DUNNE) as having written, "JIM has just finished a thesis on party education, which is really magnificent...It is a proposal to bring the rounded Marxist education within the reach of 'Worker Bolsheviks'..."

ROSE KARSNER in a letter to DON ~~X~~O'RORKE, who is identical with DUNCAN ~~X~~FERGUSON, NATALIA TROTSKY's secretary, dated October 5, 1944, stated, "Please tell Aunt (NATALIA TROTSKY) that her letter to USICK was sent to Sandstone and that JIM has been answering her criticisms in the last three letters. He says 'more to follow'. So as soon as it is all here, MORRIS (STEIN) will write her."

MORRIS STEIN by letter dated October 10, 1944, to WALTER ~~X~~ROURKE headed "Dear Natalia" stated, "We are sending you a copy of a letter from JIM. This represents his opinion in reply to your first letter."

Informant T-2 stated that the referred to letter is a four page document outlining the policy to be followed by the Socialist Workers Party in reference to the Soviet Union. It is a condemnation of the STALIN regime which he claims has done everything politically possible to erase the revolution (the October, 1917 revolution in Russia.)



Confidential Informant T-4 reported that CANNON in an undated and unsigned eleven page letter, took issue with MORRISON (ALBERT GOLDMAN, S.W.P. attorney). The opening paragraph indicated that this a letter from JIM, dealt with issues raised by MORRISON in connection with the censure of four New York S.W.P. members. This paragraph was signed "M.S." who was believed to be MORRIS STEIN, acting national secretary. The incident concerning the censure of the four party members occurred in 1944 during CANNON's incarceration at Sandstone Penitentiary. The following quotations are from CANNON's letter:

"When it comes to organization we follow LENIN and nobody is going to talk us out of it. LENIN always paid far more attention to the 'organization question', was far stricter, fearsome, more definite about it, precisely because he really aimed to build a party to lead a revolution...two of these basic principles which are recognized by every Bolshevik but which appear to need reassertion in the light of the dispute over the N. Y. incident, may be set down as follows: (1) The party is conceived as a combat organization destined to lead a revolution. The party is not an anarchist mad house where everyone does as he pleases, but an army which faces the outside world as a unit;...

"...Revolutionary Marxism...Bolshevism...alone stood out under the test of war and revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks taught us this in word and deed. The American militants learned from them, for the first time, the full meaning of the program and simultaneously, the significance, the role of the Vanguard Party."

The Socialist Workers Party held its national convention at the Capital Hotel on November 16th through 19, 1944, inclusive.

Informant T-5 reported that CANNON was a regular member of the outgoing National Committee of the S.W.P. Informant T-1 reported that CANNON was reelected as a regular member of the new incoming National Committee on November 19, 1944.

T-2 advised that T. G. HEALY, 77 Sternhold Ave., London, S.W. 2, in a letter to CANNON dated January 4, 1945, congratulated him on his impending release from prison, and stated that they owed much to CANNON for the successful fusion of the British groups into the Revolutionary Communist Party, which is the official British section of the Fourth International.

The St. Paul Field Division by letter to the Director dated January 25, 1945, advised by letter dated January 11, 1945, Mr. G. W. HUMPHREY, Warden, Federal Correctional Institution, Sandstone, Minnesota, advised that CANNON would be released from that institution on January

24, 1945, and furnished transportation to New York City. He will henceforth be under the supervision of Mr. HAROLD R. DEAN, chief, U.S. Probation Officer, Southern District of New York, until April 30, 1945. According to the warden, CANNON stated that he will live at 116 University Place, New York City. It is noted that this is not ~~the~~ residence address, but is the address of the national and city headquarters of the S.W.P. in New York City.

CANNON was released from Sandstone January 24, 1945.

T-2 reported that a letter dated February 1, 1945, signed JIM (CANNON) to WALTER ROURKE headed "Dear Natalia" stated "I returned to New York on January 26 and was handed your letter addressed to me dated January 6.

"You raised many questions which occupied our thoughts and discussions at Sandstone. I intend to go into them extensively in my reply to you. Before doing so, however, I want to rest a bit and think out to the end all the questions and formulate our opinion precisely...I wish to say that I think you and I agree on the main point - the world party ~~Fourth~~ International Movement, internationally) must accustom itself to the ruthless criticism of everything and everybody. We must teach our young comrades to think problems out to the end. They must not approach them sentimentally, not even when you and I are concerned. They must learn to think politically."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, S.W.P. front organization, held a mass rally on February 2, 1945, at the Hotel Diplomat, New York City, in honor of the release of Trotskyist leaders. CANNON, who did not attend, transmitted a letter to the rally which letter appeared in the February 10, 1945 issue of "The ~~Militant~~" and is set out as follows:

"I deeply regret that I cannot be with you tonight, I caught cold on the train, and in view of the fact that I intend to go back to work shortly, the doctor thinks it best that I do not go out for a few days. It is only a small matter--nothing serious. In every other respect I am in good shape, and eager to return to my work, as are all the other men of Sandstone, Danbury and Alderson. Alderson is where our Senator put in her hard and bitter 13 months among the poor lost convict women who are cast out and abandoned and have no one to help them. Grace worried about them and tried to befriend them. Our hearts ached for our Senator there all alone with such a 'hard way to go,' as the convicts say. But she stood up and played her part and set us an example. We are proud of our Senator, All the rest of us did the best we could and we hope you approve of the way we conducted ourselves.

"If I were to be present at the meeting, the thing I would like most to say would be how deeply, how profoundly, I thank you for your solidarity, your kindness, your friendship. I would like to say

"that I want to put on record in public my heartfelt gratitude to Roger Baldwin. He is not of our political and philosophic faith, but he is a principled fighter for what he believes in. Roger Baldwin believes in the rights of man. If I were present tonight and were permitted by time limitations to say only one sentence, to raise one slogan, I would say: 'Long live the Rights of Man!' I always believed in this, but now I understand it better.

"I would also thank the distinguished chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee and its efficient and hard-working secretaries and all the others who worked with them. But we really do not have to say how we appreciate them. There cannot possibly be any doubts of that."

T-2 advised that the following cable filed in Havana, Cuba, February 6, 1945, by PABLO DIAZ, general secretary, was sent to CANNON at 116 University Place:

"Partido Obrero Revolucionario sends fraternal greetings valiant Socialist fighters freed. Go ahead."

Partido Obrero Revolucionario can be translated to read Revolutionary Labor Party.

Subject is under the supervision of U. S. Probation Officer JACOB M. MASTER of the Southern District of New York, who advised that CANNON is not feeling well, is on vacation from his position of national secretary of the S.W.P., and expects to remain on vacation for the duration of his conditional release. Subject's Probation file number 15532, reflects that he has Sandstone Penitentiary number 1999-SS and FBI number 2382445. It indicates that his father, JOHN CANNON, was born in 1858 in England, and resides at Merriam, Kansas, with his daughter. His mother, ANN HACKETT, is deceased. CANNON indicated that he is one of several children, but would not furnish their names and addresses in order not to implicate them. Under marital status he indicated he is married LISTA MAKENSON in 1913 at Pekin, Illinois; that she left him in 1924, is deceased, and that two children were born to the marriage. He married his present wife, ROSE GREENBERG (ROSE KARSNER) in New York City in 1929. He stated that she was born in 1889 in Roumania, is of Jewish descent, had an eighth grade education, and has no religious affiliations. Prior to their marriage she did stenographic work and was formerly married to DAVID KARSNER whom she is said to have divorced.

He indicated that she is in complete sympathy with CANNON's political views and was stated to be presently doing stenographic work at the party headquarters in New York City.

The file reflects that when examined by a psychiatrist at

NY 100-25905

penitentiary CANNON stated he did not leave his first wife, that he has maintained contact with her since their separation and has supported the several children of that marriage. This contradicts the information previously given by CANNON concerning his first wife.

On his Monthly Supervision report dated March 1, 1945, CANNON gave his residence as 128 West 11th St., Apt. 71, care of KARSNER, gave his employment as the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, indicating he is national secretary, and stated that he is taking a short vacation from his duties.

Enclosure to the Bureau: One copy of subject's photograph.

- P E N D I N G -

NY 100-25905

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Will report the activities of the subject.

Will obtain specimens of subject's handwriting for inclusion in the National Security file maintained by the Bureau.

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent Stanley J. Grabowski, Jr. dated March 23, 1944, at New York, New York, are identified as follows:

T-1 - Special operator #15, Special Squad #1, New York Police Department. An undercover member of the Socialist Workers Party.

T-2 - Office of Censorship.

T-3 - Report of Special Agent Rolland O. L'Allier dated October 13, 1944, at St. Paul, Minnesota, entitled, "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, ST. PAUL FIELD DIVISION; INTERNAL SECURITY - R."

T-4 - Report of Special Agent Ralph F. Miller dated January 26, 1945, at Buffalo, New York, entitled "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUFFALO FIELD DIVISION; INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP," which furnished information obtained from a highly confidential source.

*X*  
1-5

[redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)



4547

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**  
New York, 7, New York

FD-122



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. 100-25905

March 23, 1945

Director, FBI

RE: JAMES PATRICK CANNON, was.  
SECURITY-MATTER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - S.W.P.

Dear Sir:

It is recommended that a Security Index card be prepared relative to the individual named below:

Name: JAMES PATRICK CANNON  
Aliases: James Cook, Redwell, Karsner, Walter, Martin

Residence Address: 128 West 11th St., N.Y., N.Y., Apt. #71

Business Address: Socialist Workers Party,  
116 University Place,  
New York, N. Y.

☒ Native Born      ☐ Alien      ☐ Naturalized  
  
☒ Communist K.F.      ☐ German      ☐ Miscellaneous  
  
☐ Fascist (Italian)      ☐ Japanese

Date of Birth 2/11/90  
Place of Birth Rosedale, Kansas  
Entered U. S. \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
Naturalized (date) \_\_\_\_\_  
Naturalized (place and Court) \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/128  
SP-6 AGK/H

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY  
SAC

RECORDED 23 MAR 28 1945

EX-69

~~Enclosures (5)~~

*Handwritten:* Made SE Card Active 4-18-45 num

454 S

CC:mva  
100-159214-25

SAC, New York

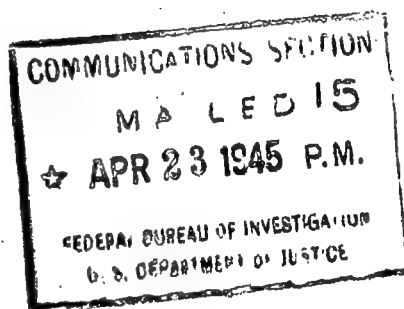
April 23, 1945

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

JAMES PATRICK CANNON, was;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - S.W.P.

In reply to your letter of March 23, 1945, wherein you recommend the preparation of a security index card in the captioned matter, I desire to advise you that the original security index card in this case has been returned to the active security indices of the Bureau. The original card contains the same information as is set forth in referenced letter and a card bearing those data should be placed in your security index file.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 JAC/BA  
JAC/BA, TIAL SP-6 AG/KH



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WVH  
F. m. 5/1

JL  
E  
H



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC St. Paul  
SUBJECT: JAMES P. CANNON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

DATE: May 23, 1945

I am transmitting herewith a photostatic copy of a handwriting specimen for JAMES P. CANNON which was obtained from the Federal Correctional Institution at Sandstone, Minnesota, for inclusion in the Handwriting Section of the National Security File.

The exhibit need not be returned to the St. Paul Field Division.

AJN:LKO  
100-1685  
Enc. - 1  
cc - New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/9/90 BY SP-7 mce/ps  
MAR 4 1996 SP6 AG/CH

NO ANS. NEC. Part of  
SPEC. RETAINED IN LAB

76 JUN 3 1945

6-5-45  
HD:MFR

RECORDED

SEVEN  
MFR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE FEB 8 1 1996 BY SP-6 AG/CH

ENCLOSURE TO THE BUREAU

St. P 100-1685

sl: to file 100-159214  
⑦ Epc/KT 6/6/45

ENCLOSURE

100-159214-26

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

SANDSTONE, MINNESOTA

URGENT REQUEST

NAME OF INMATE

WORK ASSIGNMENT

TITLE OF PROJECT

REQUEST

*to*

*a P*

*for*

*U. S. Department of Justice*

*Washington, D. C.*

*Please*

DATE

*April 4*

19

*44*

DISPOSITION:

*Purchase approved*

CCM:LVO

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/21/76 BY SP-6 LAG/CK**

**SECRET - AIR COURIER  
VIA U.S. ARMY AIR  
TRANSPORT COMMAND**

**Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 4-774**

Date: August 24, 1945

To: Mr. Donald L. Daughters  
Paris, France - Army

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: **FOURTH (TROTSKYITE) INTERNATIONAL**

During July, 1945, a highly confidential source made available a letter dated June 23, 1945, addressed "Dear Friends" and signed "Logan." The contents of the letter were as follows:

"We are enclosing document presented by Canadian Section and desired by IS. The transfer of IS to continent now urgent. Propose to hold international conference as soon as possible. Definite date not fixed. Conference will probably be held in Western Europe. Representatives from European parties, British, Canada, and possibly Latin America will participate. The first meeting after five years of leading cadres under Fourth International has strictly defined specific objectives outlined in the enclosed document.

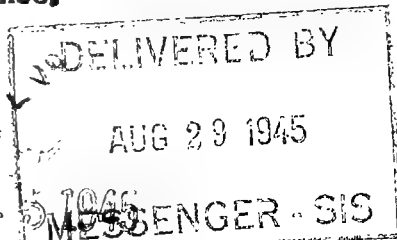
"We ask parties to immediately begin preparations to participate. Where travel impossible for leading comrades but where under special circumstances secondary leaders or rank and filers can go to Europe, that possibility should not be overlooked."

Attached to the foregoing letter were two typewritten pages entitled "Proposals on the Functioning of FI." Two copies of the material contained in these pages are attached. This material indicates that definite proposals are being made for the holding of an International Conference of the Fourth International and that efforts are presently being made to have the International Secretariat transferred from New York City where it is presently operating apparently to the continent of Europe.

The Logan mentioned above is in all probability ~~an alias of~~ Louis ~~Marine~~ Van Heijenoort who is generally known in this country as Marc Loris. Information developed to date has been to the effect ~~that~~ Loris is a member of the International Secretariat and a member of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International. (IS and FI obviously stand for International Secretariat and Fourth International).

This material is being submitted for your attention and possible assistance.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
R. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
iss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CMD:ROS

TO: 100-25905

Director, FBI

DATE: August 29, 1945

FROM: SAC, New York

42433

SUBJECT: JAMES P. CANNON, with aliases;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
Bureau File #100-159214  
~~62-10528~~

Attention: FBI Laboratory

There are being transmitted herewith additional photographic copies of handwriting specimens of subject, JAMES P. CANNON, obtained from Selective Service Local Board 16, Manhattan, New York.

It is to be noted that the St. Paul office by letter dated May 23, 1945 furnished handwriting specimens secured from the Federal Correctional Institute at Sandstone, Minnesota.

The specimens from New York are for inclusion in the handwriting section of the National Security File and need not be returned to the New York office.

Enclosures.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/9/90 BY SP-7 mac/pt  
MAR 4 1996 SP-6 AG/cb

NO ANS. NEC. *part of*  
SPEC. RETAINED IN LAB

9-11-45  
H.D.MFR

31 SEP

RECORDED  
EX - 65  
F R I  
9 AUG 30 1945  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2 1 78 BY SP-6 AEG/

out to file 100-159214  
⑦ epa/EFT 9/12

ENCLOSURE

100-159214-28

Handwritten notes on the left margin, including "1/1/70" and "1/1/70".

Classification

No information can be obtained  
from the classification  
and the contents are given

<p>092-14-5760</p> <p>25-10-1960</p>	<p>10-11-1960</p> <p>11-11-1960</p> <p>12-11-1960</p> <p>13-11-1960</p> <p>14-11-1960</p> <p>15-11-1960</p> <p>16-11-1960</p> <p>17-11-1960</p> <p>18-11-1960</p> <p>19-11-1960</p> <p>20-11-1960</p> <p>21-11-1960</p> <p>22-11-1960</p> <p>23-11-1960</p> <p>24-11-1960</p> <p>25-11-1960</p> <p>26-11-1960</p> <p>27-11-1960</p> <p>28-11-1960</p> <p>29-11-1960</p> <p>30-11-1960</p> <p>01-12-1960</p> <p>02-12-1960</p> <p>03-12-1960</p> <p>04-12-1960</p> <p>05-12-1960</p> <p>06-12-1960</p> <p>07-12-1960</p> <p>08-12-1960</p> <p>09-12-1960</p> <p>10-12-1960</p> <p>11-12-1960</p> <p>12-12-1960</p> <p>13-12-1960</p> <p>14-12-1960</p> <p>15-12-1960</p> <p>16-12-1960</p> <p>17-12-1960</p> <p>18-12-1960</p> <p>19-12-1960</p> <p>20-12-1960</p> <p>21-12-1960</p> <p>22-12-1960</p> <p>23-12-1960</p> <p>24-12-1960</p> <p>25-12-1960</p> <p>26-12-1960</p> <p>27-12-1960</p> <p>28-12-1960</p> <p>29-12-1960</p> <p>30-12-1960</p>	<p>11-11-1960</p> <p>12-11-1960</p> <p>13-11-1960</p> <p>14-11-1960</p> <p>15-11-1960</p> <p>16-11-1960</p> <p>17-11-1960</p> <p>18-11-1960</p> <p>19-11-1960</p> <p>20-11-1960</p> <p>21-11-1960</p> <p>22-11-1960</p> <p>23-11-1960</p> <p>24-11-1960</p> <p>25-11-1960</p> <p>26-11-1960</p> <p>27-11-1960</p> <p>28-11-1960</p> <p>29-11-1960</p> <p>30-11-1960</p> <p>01-12-1960</p> <p>02-12-1960</p> <p>03-12-1960</p> <p>04-12-1960</p> <p>05-12-1960</p> <p>06-12-1960</p> <p>07-12-1960</p> <p>08-12-1960</p> <p>09-12-1960</p> <p>10-12-1960</p> <p>11-12-1960</p> <p>12-12-1960</p> <p>13-12-1960</p> <p>14-12-1960</p> <p>15-12-1960</p> <p>16-12-1960</p> <p>17-12-1960</p> <p>18-12-1960</p> <p>19-12-1960</p> <p>20-12-1960</p> <p>21-12-1960</p> <p>22-12-1960</p> <p>23-12-1960</p> <p>24-12-1960</p> <p>25-12-1960</p> <p>26-12-1960</p> <p>27-12-1960</p> <p>28-12-1960</p> <p>29-12-1960</p> <p>30-12-1960</p>
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Carron

[illegible]



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

**NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-25905** **ROS**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>8/29/45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/29 30; 8/1, 14/45</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>CARLTON M. DILLARD</b>
TITLE <b>JAMES P. CANNON, with aliases</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP</b>	

~~Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 4-774~~

**KEY FIGURE**

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Subject continues as national secretary of Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, NYC and presided at May Day celebration, made a few comments at a mass meeting held 6/22/45, spoke on the downfall of BROWDER before a mass meeting 8/3/45. In a closed citywide membership meeting on July 25th CANNON fiercely attacked the Workers Party and that faction of the SWP which advocated unification of all parties in the New York City elections. He declared that the minority faction of the SWP in its move to unite with the WP had taken the first step toward a split with the party.

- P -

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau File #100-159214  
Bureau File #61-10528  
Report of Special Agent STANLEY J. GRABOWSKI, New York, 3/23/45

**DETAILS:**

This individual is considered a key figure in the Socialist Workers Party activities in the New York Field Division.

**AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK:**

Confidential Informant T-1 reported that VINCENT R. DUNNE, national labor secretary of the SWP, was in St. Paul, Minnesota and was released from prison in January 1945. In March 1945 DUNNE told the informant he was contemplating going to New York

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>[Signature]</i>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau (Enc.) 1 - Col. S.V. Constant, D. of I., 2 SC 3 - New York 50 NOV 9 1945		100-159214-21 RECORDED & INDEXED EX-7	
		COPIES DESTROYED 153 JUL 8 1960	

NY 100-25905

to work in the national office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee but his departure was contingent upon permission from the Chief Federal Probation Officer, Minneapolis, Minnesota. DUNNE reported to the informant that there was internal trouble in the SWP in New York City and that he was going ostensibly for the purpose of assisting JAMES P. CANNON.

On March 3, 1945, in conversation with the informant and HENRY SCHULTZ, DUNNE advised that MORRIS STEIN had originally written to him advising that CANNON wanted him to stay in Minneapolis until the fight started, which would probably be soon. He pointed out that this internal trouble referred to by the informant is probably the conflict between JAMES P. CANNON, national secretary of the party and ALBERT GOLLMAN, head of the minority faction in the party and the attorney for the SWP.

Confidential Informant T-2 made available documents from the home of ARTHUR BURCH, Detroit party organizer and on the National Committee of the SWP, residence address 83 Kenilworth, Detroit, Michigan. Among these documents was a letter from CANNON at New York to E. R. FRANK, Detroit, Michigan, with copies to FRANKLIN, RODNEY, McGEE, ALDER, A. JONES, BARR, and THORNE. CANNON acknowledged THORNE's letter of the 19th and 22nd, year not shown, concerning "bond business." It is here being pointed out that "bond business" pertains to an incident when KERMIT JOHNSON, a member of the SWP, spoke in a bond rally sponsored by the Auto Workers Union of Detroit, Michigan in 1942.

In connection with the incident, CANNON stated, "I think it is the most shameful episode in the history of our movement. I will not undertake to suggest any action about it until we have an opportunity to consider it thoroughly in the political committee. If you have any concrete proposals send them in."

Confidential Informant T-2 made available a copy of a letter dated April 28, 1942 addressed to the Flint, Michigan branch of the SWP by JAMES P. CANNON, which enclosed a letter addressed jointly to the Flint, Detroit, and Cleveland branches advising that comrades SHORT and WOOD, representatives of the Control Commission, and comrade MELVIN, special representative of the political committee, would be in Flint on the afternoon of May 1st. The letter requested the Flint branch to arrange for a special closed meeting on that date for the purpose of talking generally of the bond business and the meeting between the representatives and comrade DENNIS to be arranged prior to the meeting.

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In the enclosed letter, which was also signed by CANNON, a meeting was requested for May 3rd between the Flint, Detroit, and Cleveland branches in Detroit to hear and act upon the report of the Control Commission. CANNON stated that, if possible, he would be present at this meeting.

Confidential Informant T-2 also made available a letter by CANNON dated May 3, 1942 to all club executive members enclosing a report of the Control Commission on the bond selling incident. The substance of three of the seven recommendations is as follows:

The speech of DENNIS (apparently the party name or true name of KERMIT JOHNSON) in connection with the sale of bonds constituted a violation of the party's principle position on the war and was contrary to the best interest of the working class. DENNIS' action constituted a fraud of which the bosses are the only beneficiaries and which is in contradiction to the party program.

At a previous Flint branch meeting this matter had been discussed and the party policy established "that a party member should under no circumstances participate in the sale of bonds even if it meant sacrifice of union position."

Confidential Informant T-3 informed that a letter addressed to NATALIA TROTZKY by AL ROLAND, Chicago, Illinois, on April 16, 1945 contained the following information concerning CANNON:

ROLAND accused CANNON of being responsible for a clique in the party and (1) tries to keep members ignorant and (2) delays action on political issues until it is too late to do any good. ROLAND also mentioned MARTIN's (JAMES P. CANNON) work in internal bulletin volume vii, number 2, April 1945. In this letter ROLAND threatened withdrawal from the party as he could not work with the present leadership.

Confidential Informant T-4 advised that CANNON was formally enrolled as a member of the West Side branch of the SWP at its regular meeting held at 116 University Place on April 6, 1945. T-4 also advised that CANNON spoke at the May Day celebration of the SWP held May 1, 1945 at Webster Hall, 125 East 11th Street, New York City. He reviewed the stand of the party with regard to the present war asserting that the SWP alone told the truth. He declared that America had now emerged as a dominant world wide imperialistic power as had been predicted by the party. He said it stands now as a leading capitalist country assuring the oppressed millions that it will bring peace

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out of the San Francisco Conference, which CANNON stated was in reality a meeting to map out a future war. CANNON continued that this is all that "capitalism in its death agony can offer mankind." CANNON indicated that against this imperialistic situation there is a power still dormant but yet more powerful than any imperialistic combination . . . the workers. He said it will be a duty of the party to arouse these workers with more vigor than ever before and to teach them to understand the power that they have in their hands. He declared that events and realities indicate the future will be ruled by one of two systems -- communism or fascism.

~~Confidential Informant~~ [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, attended the May Day meeting and, concerning JAMES CANNON's speech, added that CANNON seemed to believe the revolution would come within the next three years. CANNON declared the revolution should be in the United States if it is to be successful because of the financial and political power here. He continued that all nations, including the United States, are bankrupt and after the war the United States could not continue to produce because there would be no outside markets for its products.

[redacted] further informed that subject CANNON presided at a mass meeting held by the SWP on June 22, 1945 at Webster Hall, New York City. At this meeting GRACE CARLSON of the SWP gave a talk on "Women in Prison" and the two candidates in the New York election, FARRELL DOBBS and LOUISE SIMPSON, gave outlines of their plans in the coming election. At this meeting CANNON's comments were confined to a brief statement on party discipline. He declared that the party is definitely growing, the reason for the growth being that its members are willing to subject themselves to the strict party discipline.

Informant [redacted] advised on July 23, 1945 that the SWP is having printed up an announcement for a mass meeting to be held on August 3, 1945 at Webster Hall at 8 p.m. The informant stated that, according to the announcement, CANNON was to be the principal speaker and his topic for discussion was "The Downfall of Browder." The other speakers on this occasion were the candidates in the New York election.

Confidential Informant [redacted] furnished to Special Agent THEODORE C. KIRKPATRICK a copy of the fly leaf announcing this meeting and also a folder entitled "Real Meaning of Latest Shift in Tactical Line of American Stalinists". These documents are being enclosed herewith for the attention of the Bureau.

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Confidential Informant T-4 advised that on July 25, 1945 a citywide membership meeting of the SWP was held at 116 University Place to hear discussions by JAMES P. CANNON, national secretary, and ALBERT GOLDMAN, party attorney, on the "Decision of the Political Committee to refuse to Unite with the Workers Party during the coming Elections."

CANNON was the first speaker and, in concurring with the decision of the Political Committee to refuse offers of a unification for the mayoralty election with the Workers Party, fiercely attacked the latter together with those in the SWP who supported such a move.

Recalling the split between 1939 and 1940 which resulted in 40% of the membership leaving the party and joining MAX SHACHTMAN to form the Workers Party, he pointed out that TROTSKY himself had labeled them "renegades from Marxism and petty bourgeois intellectuals", and insofar as CANNON was concerned, nothing had happened during the intervening five years which would prompt him to change that characterization. In fact, CANNON pointed out that SHACHTMAN and his group have become such "unprincipled combinationists" and that they have requested persons of all types of political opinion to join with them and have given up the fight for the revolution and use the politics of the working class as a play thing. Furthermore, CANNON charged they have made the offer of unification on the basis that the SWP cleans itself of CANNON and the "Cannonites", something, which if carried out, would leave on the basis of the voting in the last party convention only 5% of the party members. In other words, CANNON continued, the Workers Party is seeking to split the SWP rather than seeking to unite working class parties. CANNON then revealed the history of the party during the last year and a half emphasizing the tremendous growth both in members and in influence. The party has the largest concentration of workers it has ever known now working in the United Auto Workers Union. They number about 125 and many are in key positions within their locals. Ninety party members are in maritime unions, forty in steel industries, nineteen in electrical unions, and seventeen in the railroad industry. The party has increased its membership to over 1,000 in the past year and the financial response shows the seriousness and loyalty of the membership. With that record and a great promise for the future, CANNON asked, "Should we align ourselves with the renegades of Marxism?"

Turning to the subject of the political minority within the party, CANNON revealed that on the previous Saturday evening, while the rest of the party was working to fill the petition blanks, they held a meeting and decided to form an open faction within the party. Thus, CANNON pointed out, they have taken the first step toward a split with the party. He assured the members the minority faction will be given the greatest freedom of discussion

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but that the majority will protect its own interest and expose the falsehoods as they are uttered by the minority.

It is to be noted that at this point, the conclusion of CANNON's speech, ALBERT GOLDMAN, who represents the minority faction of the party, took up the discussion giving reasons why the two parties should unite in the coming election.

The following criminal record of the subject received from the Bureau, FBI #2382445, is being set forth:

Contributor of Fingerprints	Name and Number	Arrested or Received	Charge	Disposition
P.D., Minneapolis, Minn.	James P. Cannon #26007	7-25-34	inv.	7-27-34, rel. to Prov. Marshal on chg. of vag.
USM, N.Y., N.Y.	James Cannon #---	7-25-41	attempt to overthrow the Govt. by force	
USM, St. Paul, Minn.	James P. Cannon #4900	7-25-41	consp. to overthrow & destroy U.S. Govt.	rel. on \$2500 bond 12-8-41, 16 mos. in Fed. Pen.
Fed. Correctional Institution, Sandstone	James P. Cannon, #1999	1-1-44	Consp. to overthrow government by force and subversive activities	1 yr and 4 mos.

ENCLOSURES TO THE BUREAU:

Fly leaf announcing a mass meeting of the SWP on August 3rd at Webster Hall.

Folder entitled "Real Meaning of Latest Shift in Tactical Line of American Stalinists."

- P E N D I N G -

- 6 -

NY 100-25905

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York, New York:

Will continue to follow and report the activities of the subject  
in the SWP.

NY 100-25905

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The confidential informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent CARLTON M. BILLARD dated August 29, 1945 at New York are as follows:

*\*Conf. Inf.*  
T-1:

[ ] as set out in the report of Special Agent ARTHUR J. NORSTROM dated April 17, 1945 at St. Paul, Minnesota and entitled SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. This informant is being carried as a temporary informant to further protect his identity.

T-2:

A highly confidential source known to Special Agents MARTIN CROAK and WILLIAM GRIFFIN, as set forth in the report of Special Agent JAMES T. O'BRIEN dated May 25, 1945 at Detroit, Michigan entitled SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

T-3:

Office of Censorship

T-4:

Operator 15, New York Police Department,  
400 Broome Street, New York City - an under cover member of the SWP.

The above informants were given temporary symbols to further protect their identities.



# Real Meaning Of Latest Shift In Tactical Line Of American Stalinists

## STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The new policy of the Communist Political Association is a tactical maneuver, a maneuver intended to serve the power politics of the Soviet (Stalinist) bureaucracy, not the interests of the working class. This maneuver is designed to shield the Stalinist leaders, in the United States and elsewhere, from the rising anger of the workers and their own rank and file against countless betrayals. It is a maneuver to deceive the war-weary masses by radical phrases. It is a maneuver to enable the Stalinist leaders to head the struggles of the masses — in order to behead them. It is a maneuver against the working class, against Socialism.

The new Stalinist tactic represents not a break with the policy pursued up to now, but its continuation under a more radical mask. There is no break with class collaboration policies; no break with the cowardly line of surrender to the imperialists. In this country, the Stalinist leaders propose to continue their support of the war of American imperialism in the Pacific and the subjugation of Germany.

They demand the continuation of national unity: "support every effort of the Truman administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program" and the "broadest national coalition of all anti-fascist forces, including all supporters of Roosevelt's anti-axis policies." (Resolution of the C.P. A. National Committee. Our emphasis.)

They continue openly to stand for class peace and strikebreaking: "Continue uninterrupted war production and uphold labor's no-strike pledge for the duration."

The new Stalinist tactic serves exclusively the purpose of shaping the Stalinist organization into a more effective bargaining agency in the Kremlin's game of power politics. With the crushing of Germany, the inherent conflict between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism has come to the surface. This is at the root of the current crisis in the "Big Three" coalition. Stalin's promise of a lasting harmonious coalition with the imperialist "democracies" — the very basis of the policy of his agents up to now — has been shattered. This fact is at the root of the new "turn."

When Churchill turned "lend-lease" planes and tanks against the Greek workers, the Stalinists saw no need of a new "turn." When Roosevelt froze wages, when Congress passed one anti-labor measure after another, the Stalinists hewed to their line of class peace. Why? Because the "Big Three" coalition then appeared more or less solid. Only now, when the coalition is gravely strained, do the Stalinist leaders proclaim a "turn." By using the Stalinist parties as an internal threat in the capitalist countries, Stalin hopes to wrest greater concessions from his imperialist "allies" and in this way to continue "collaboration." The interests of the workers are of no concern to the degenerated Kremlin bureauc-

INDEXED IN  
PUBLICATION  
FILES

100-159214-29

racy, to whom the masses have been and remain mere pawns in Stalin's game of power politics.

The Stalinists can no longer peddle their old lies with impunity because life itself has exposed them. The masses are becoming more and more disillusioned with the war. The promises about the "Four Freedoms" and all the other war aims are already too threadbare to hide the robber character of the war. Revolutionary struggles are rising in Europe and the colonies. That is why the Stalinist leaders urgently require a tactical adjustment—not, however, to provide genuine revolutionary leadership, but to deceive the masses and bring their struggles to naught. Stalin and his agents abroad seek to destroy the socialist revolution, because the socialist revolution means the death of Stalinism.

The American workers are breaking out of the strait-jacket of "national unity." The American Stalinists are being isolated and defeated in factories and unions. In the union movement they bear the brand of jingoes and strikebreakers. The best militants in the unions shun them like lepers. Worker members have been leaving the C.P.A. in droves.

## The Stalinist War Record

Throughout the war, the Stalinist party has been the most vociferous war party. As recruiting sergeants for U. S. imperialism, they out-jingoeed the jingoes. The program of Wall Street and its government in Washington became their own. They were the loudest boosters of Roosevelt's deceptive "equality of sacrifice" program. They condoned the fabulous war profits of Big Business. They campaigned for the "incentive pay" plan which meant speed-up for the workers and vaster profits for the monopolists. They urged the workers meekly to accept the wage freeze, the job freeze, the "Little Steel" formula and to submit to every anti-union provocation of the employers. Not only did they advocate that the workers surrender the right to strike, but wherever they had the power they victimized militant workers who dared defend themselves against the anti-labor offensive of Big Business. Small wonder that *Business Week*, a mouthpiece of Wall Street, recognizes that the Stalinists "have outdone all other factions in American labor in making patriotic appeals for more production, labor management cooperation, ignoring

The Stalinist leaders need a coat of red veneer—radical-sounding phrases to cover up their war-time crimes and betrayals and restore their damaged prestige among the workers. They also need this tactical "turn" in order to reinforce their hold over the rank and file membership of the C.P.A. Worker-members of the C.P.A. could not fail to see that their organization is discredited, that its policies and activities are a stench in the nostrils of the labor movement. They found themselves compelled throughout the war to defend policies which were to the right even of the Greens and Murrays. The worker-member of the C.P.A. has been voting against the Stalinist policy with his feet. He could only quietly drop out of the C.P.A. If he dared to speak up he found himself denounced as a "Trotskyist" and expelled.

The Stalinist bankrupts hope to remain in business by this new maneuver. They are banking on short memories and on the power of their unscrupulous bureaucratic machine. But they will not succeed in hiding their war record. The masses will remember and we Trotskyists will help them to remember.

of grievances and observation of the no-strike pledge."

The labor movement as a whole recoiled in opposition when Roosevelt introduced his slave-labor National Service Bill. This was too much for the pro-war liberals to stomach, but not for Bridges and Curran who, like the *Daily Worker*, gave all-out support to this reactionary measure. Bridges and Curran violated the policy of the CIO in their support of the slave labor bill—and had to be called to order by Philip Murray himself.

Each time the workers found themselves compelled to resist the offensive of Big Business, and whenever they used the strike weapon to defend their living standards or their unions, Browder, Foster and Co. were on the side of the corporations against the workers. They denounced the strikes of the miners as "disloyal," "unpatriotic," "pro-Hitler" and openly acted as fink-herders, urging the miners to return to work without a contract under the same rotten wages and conditions.

In the Montgomery-Ward strike caused by so flagrant a campaign to smash the union that even Roosevelt had to make a mock gesture against the management, the Stalinists again openly acted as strikebreakers. The St. Paul Montgomery-Ward workers, under the jurisdiction of the ILWU led by Harry Bridges, were forced to scab on their Chicago brothers. Harry Bridges went the length of advocating a permanent no-strike pledge.

The Negro people were counselled to give up their militant struggles for equal rights and to carry the shackles of Jim Crow discrimination

without protest. The Stalinists served American The Indian masses fighting for independence imperialism with equal zeal at home and abroad. from the tyranny of the British colonial despots were condemned by them as "Japanese agents." Washington's attempt to impose the Fascist Dargan on the French people, and the actual imposition of the fascist Badoglio and the fascist Royal Family on the Italian masses, were explained and excused as "mistakes" of certain "reactionaries" in the State Department. The imperialist hate campaign against the German people was joined in enthusiastically by the Stalinist press and leaders.

## The Truth About Teheran

In the winter of 1943, after the Teheran conference of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, the American Stalinists under Browder's leadership came to the conclusion that their criminal policy in the war should be continued in the postwar era. The class struggle was to be discarded not only for the "duration" but forever. Socialism was declared a utopian dream. In place of socialism Browder embraced the "free enterprise system" of monopoly capital, under which, he promised, the workers would have prosperity, peace and plenty.

Was this anti-Marxist opium concocted just by Browder, as Duclos and Foster now try to make it appear? Nothing could be further from the truth! Browder's line flowed logically from the Stalinist war policy, after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. In accordance with this policy, the capitalists were waging a "People's War," a war "for democracy against fascism," a war for the "Four Freedoms" and so on. But why, then, is it not possible for the capitalists to conclude a "People's Peace"—with freedom and prosperity for all? Clearly, the logic is on Browder's side not that of Duclos or Foster.

Browder, however, did not rely primarily on "logic." He was simply echoing Stalin, who declared that "the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition was:

"Abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitlerite regime."

What is this if not Browder's "postwar perspective?" It was enunciated by Stalin one year before Teheran, not in a "diplomatic document" but in an address to the Moscow Soviet on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution, November 6, 1942. It was reaffirmed by Stalin at Teheran. When Duclos indicts Browder for "revising Marxism-Leninism," he is in reality indicting Stalin and the entire National Committee of the Stalinist Party in this country, and the Stalinist parties in the rest of the world.

Foster's differences with Browder are merely over interpretation and application of a common fundamental policy. To be sure, Foster notes the similarity between Browder's line and the "traditional revisionism of the Social Democracy," a "reflection in the workers ranks of the class interests of the big bourgeoisie" and a tendency "to subordinate the workers to the influence of reactionary capitalists." But in the same breath he declares that "Browder's opportunism has done much harm to our otherwise sound wartime policy. . ." (Our emphasis.)

Like Browder, Foster supported and still supports the imperialist war. Like Browder, Foster formerly supported Roosevelt and now supports Truman. Like Browder, Foster supports the no-strike pledge, the policy of national unity and the surrender of labor's interests to the capitalist masters.

The whole difference between Foster and Browder is that Foster wants to make this poison more palatable to the workers. He was for the Roosevelt Administration, but merely proposed to "criticize many errors and shortcomings" and to put a labor representative in the cabinet to facilitate the deception of the workers. He is against a labor party but doesn't want to "rule

out a third party movement permanently." He favors demands to "curb the monopolies" but not their expropriation by a workers' government. He supports the international conferences of the imperialist robbers, but wants labor to "demand representation" so as to sweeten them for consumption by the workers and soldiers. He agrees with Browder that "Socialism in our country is not an immediate issue," but does not want to forego the demagogic use of "criticism of capitalism as a system of exploitation of the workers."

One need not look into the history books of World War I to discover that Foster's variant of Browder's policy conforms to the "traditional revisionism of the Social Democracy." Practically all the proposals of Foster, rejected by Browder, can be found in the pages of the New Leader, organ of the American Social Democrats. One exception can be noted: the Social Democrats, who are anti-Stalin and anti-Soviet, were sometimes inclined to be more "radical" and more "leftist" than Foster in their criticism of the capitalist government and the imperialist war policies they supported. Were Lenin alive today he would flay Foster as a more dangerous social-patriot, a more insidious renegade than Browder, just as he denounced Kautsky as more dangerous than Scheidemann, the prototypes of Foster and Browder in Germany before and after World War I. Foster's misleadership would have been far more persuasive than Browder's, Lenin would have said, and should be fought as the deadlier menace.

If Foster's differences with Browder were as fundamental as he now tries to make them out to be, why did he keep silent all this time? Why did he issue a public denial of differences on the C.P.A. National Committee more than a year ago? Why did he act as an accomplice in every

one of the crimes he now tries to unload on Browder?

Shameless prostitutes like Foster, Browder, Minor and the like are able to accommodate the capitalist masters without any qualms. But the rank and file Stalinist worker must have hung his head in shame. For it was the rank and file worker who had to do the dirty work of speeding up production, sabotaging grievance committees, breaking strikes and whooping it up for the imperialist slaughter. It was the rank and file Stalinist who had to stifle his most elementary feelings of class consciousness and class solidarity and black out everything he had learned from Marx and Lenin. It was the rank and file Stalinist who had to face the bitter enmity of the militant workers in the plants and unions who justly regarded him as a scab.

It is not surprising that tens of thousands quit the Stalinist party in loathing and disgust. Duclos stated that 35,000 members of the Communist Party did not re-register in the C.P.A. And the Stalinist National Committee now confirms this fact, saying that "the growth of the Communist movement among the industrial workers was undoubtedly retarded." But there were others who went along, sincerely believing that this was the only way to fight fascism, that this was the only way to defend the Soviet Union. Let us draw a balance sheet. For almost six years the world has been consumed by the flames of war. Europe is a wasteland of ruins, hunger and disease. Some 60,000,000 human beings in Europe alone are casualties in this most terrible of all slaughters. Has fascism been exterminated? Is the Soviet Union secured from imperialist attack so that it may begin the peaceful work of reconstruction?

## **The Struggle Against Fascism**

The resolution of the National Board of the C.P.A. now admits that the "economic and social roots of fascism in Europe have not been fully destroyed." And Duclos discovers that "it is scarcely necessary to recall that the material bases for fascism reside in the trusts. . ." i.e., the roots of fascism lie in capitalism, as Lenin long ago pointed out. "It is scarcely necessary to recall. . ." Indeed! For ten years, with the exception of the brief period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Stalinist leaders shouted from the house-tops that fascism was synonymous with "aggres-

sive imperialist nations" like Germany and Italy, that if the workers united with the capitalists of "liberty-loving nations" like the United States and Great Britain, fascism would be wiped out. Now we hear out of their own mouths that it was all a lie. They knew they were lying all the time. They consciously and deliberately deceived the workers that fascism could be destroyed by imperialist war. Now that humanity groans under the cross of 60 million European casualties—not 60 million jobs!—they cynically announce that the roots of fascism reside in the "trusts" (capitalism.)

Far from fascism being destroyed, the Stalinist resolution admits that "... the trusts and cartels are striving to reconstruct Europe on a reactionary basis;" that "the most aggressive circles of American imperialism are endeavoring to secure for themselves political and economic domination of the world;" that "reactionary forces ... are planning a new open shop drive to weaken or smash the trade unions;" that "if these forces are not checked and defeated America and the world will be confronted with new aggressions and wars and the growth of reaction and fascism in the United States."

Thus we discover that victory in "the war against fascism" — a policy devised not by Browder in 1943 but by Stalin and Dimitrov in 1935—has sharpened the danger of fascism not only in Europe but brought it to the very doorstep of the United States itself. Never was there such a confession of political bankruptcy! As Marxists, we Trotskyists repeated a thousand times before the war, during the war—and we repeat again today—only the proletarian revolution can destroy fascism. Failing this, imperialist war strengthens the very forces which give rise to fascism. The ruined cities, the mass hunger, the mass destitution, the mass unemployment, the growth of militarism, will give rise to a new brand of fascism—as was the case in Germany and Italy after the last war—unless the working class takes

its fate into its own hands, uproots capitalism and establishes its own socialist society.

The revolutionary struggle for power by the working class is on the order of the day in Europe. The masses once again are seeking guidance in the great beacon light of the Bolshevik Revolution. They are ready to begin the struggle for Socialism. But the Stalinist parties in Europe and everywhere else, are once again paving the way for fascism by bolstering up the discredited, tottering capitalist governments, the diseased products of a dying system. Stalinist ministers have taken posts in the capitalist governments in Italy, France, Belgium and in all the Balkan countries. Except for some division of the land in the Balkans and Poland, capitalist property relations are untouched. The partisans have been disarmed and the purge of the fascists halted; new capitalist armies and police forces for the repression of the masses are being rebuilt, the monarchies still keep their thrones. All of this is done with the direct support and connivance of the leaders of the Communist Party. Is it any wonder then, that at a time when the masses should be marching irresistibly to their socialist victory, eliminating every vestige of the fascist scum in the process, that fascism looms again as a terrible menace? Years ago Trotsky said: "Without Stalin there would be no Hitler."

## Defense Of The Soviet Union

How has the Stalinist policy served to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack? Long before the war erupted in Europe Stalin proclaimed—contrary to the most fundamental teachings of Lenin—that it was possible for the USSR to live in peace with the capitalist world. The Kremlin's policy of "People's Fronts," "collective security," and "non-aggression pacts" led to Munich. Thereupon Stalin staked everything on his pact with Hitler. When this hope exploded in war, the Stalinists next staked everything on the coalition with Anglo-American imperialism. Death and destruction in the Soviet Union—and throughout the world—have still not put an end to this monstrous deception. Throughout the war the Stalinists spread the fiction that the military alliance with London and Washington was a guarantee for peaceful cohabitation of the "allies" after the war. The exact opposite has again occurred. The morning after the "common" victory over Germany finds the Soviet Union in

sharper antagonism with its capitalist allies than ever before.

Talk of a Third World War, a war against the Soviet Union, is growing louder every day. The resolution of the National Board of the CPA admits that "they (Big Business) are trying to organize a cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union. . ."

After almost six years of global catastrophe, the Stalinist leaders are forced to recognize that the capitalist class cannot be considered as trustworthy allies of the Soviet Union. But it was precisely to retain these capitalist allies that the Stalin gang in the Soviet Union, and its corrupt agents in the Communist parties in the rest of the world, counselled the workers to make peace with their capitalist enemies, to give up the class struggle, to abandon the fight for Socialism.

The Stalin gang which imposed the policy of class peace, national unity and surrender to capitalism on all the Communist parties, has con-

verted the Soviet Union into a heaven of special privileges, huge salaries and unrestricted luxuries for marshals and bureaucrats, and a hell of inequality, poverty and repression for the soldiers and workers. The defense of the Soviet Union demands first and foremost the independent action of the working class for the extension of the October Revolution throughout the world. This is what Lenin taught. This is what the Stalinists have betrayed. The defense of the Soviet Union—the restoration of workers' democracy and the elevation of the living standards of the Soviet masses—demands a political struggle for the overthrow by the workers of the Stalin gang in the USSR.

\* \* \*

The latest tactical maneuver of the Stalinists is inaugurated amid a great fanfare about the establishment of "genuine inner democracy" in the C.P.A. This "democracy" is just as fraudulent as the maneuver itself. The discussion that has opened will not culminate in a genuine democratic convention to decide the policy and the leadership. This discussion serves no other purpose than to keep the criticism of the Stalinist leadership within limits set in advance, to prevent the membership from linking Browder's treachery with the treachery of Stalin. It is designed to avoid any examination of the policy that would disclose its fountainhead, and its real social-patriotic roots.

Democracy is excluded in the ranks of the Stalinist parties. Only bureaucratic regimentation can serve parties advocating and carrying out the program of the class enemy.

As events unfold, the members of the C.P.A. who permit their voices to be stifled will look back upon the period of World War II with the deepest shame for the crimes of Stalinism and for the counter-revolutionary role they were duped into playing. Many workers in the C.P.A. can remember the revulsion which occurred among the Social-Democratic workers for the role played by their official parties and leaders in support of the imperialist masters. Just as the Social-Democrats were hated and cursed by the

révolutionists a generation ago, the revolutionary workers will learn to despise the Browders and the Fosters and the Duclos with that hatred that is reserved for scabs and renegades. They will learn that the first condition for class-struggle policies is a complete break with Stalinism and all its policies and methods.

Trotsky's Communists will become the rallying force for all the revolutionists, for all the militant workers after this war, just as Lenin's Communists were the rallying force after the last war. That is why the Stalinist leaders carried on their hate and slander campaign against the Trotskyists. That is why the Trotskyists who—like Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Eugene Debs and other internationalists in the war of 1914-1918—opposed the imperialist conflict to redive the world, have been reviled by the Stalinist leaders in language lifted from the red-baiting Hearst press, the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. That is why they will intensify their poison-pen propaganda in the days to come.

The Socialist Workers Party and the world Trotskyist parties are the only workers organizations which can hold their heads high with pride in their unsullied banner. We are the only organization which pursued a Marxist-Leninist policy throughout the war in the great tradition of Liebknecht and Lenin. Ours was the only true struggle against fascism; ours was the only true defense of the USSR. Not for a moment did we suspend the revolutionary socialist struggle. We did not tell any lies about the character of the war. We told only the truth. We tirelessly exposed the deception of the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and all the other flunkies of imperialism. For this 18 of our leaders were thrown into prison. But our party was not destroyed, not even weakened. It grew stronger under persecution and is now rallying more and more revolutionary militants under its banner of uncompromising struggle against the rotten system of capitalism with its wars, its poverty, its oppression.

*Reprinted from THE MILITANT June 16, 1945*

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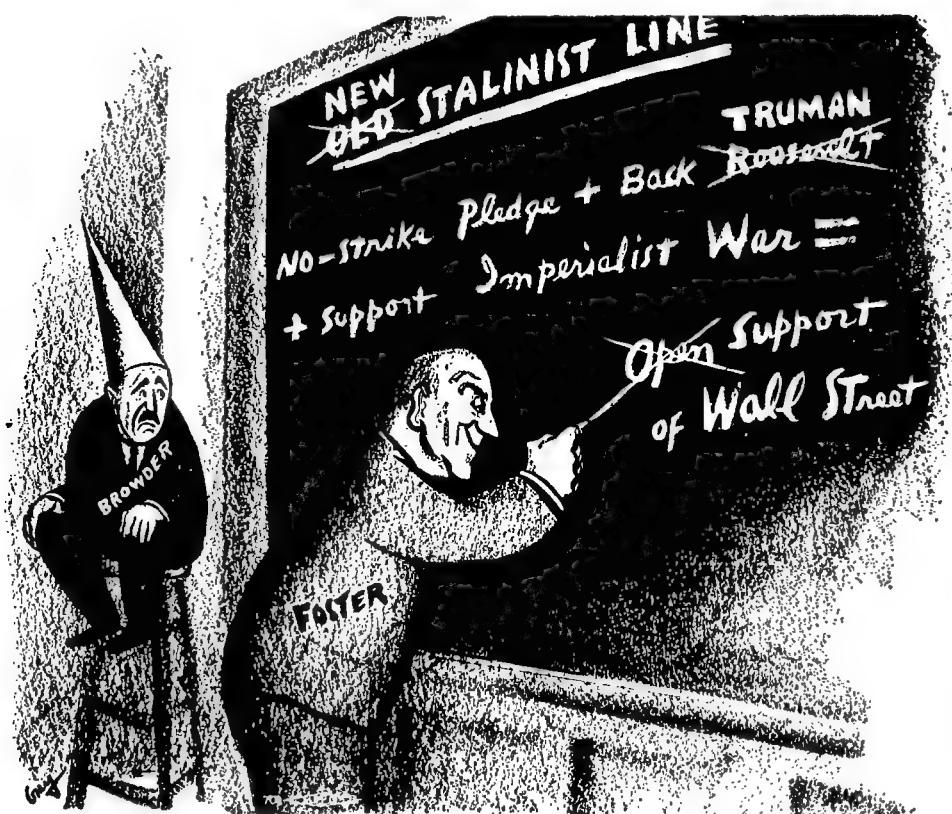
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hear **JAMES P. CANNON**



National Secretary, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

James P. Cannon is one of the founders and prominent leaders of American Communism. In 1928 he was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. On his return he raised the banner of Trotskyism in this country.

Other Speakers:

TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES IN NEW YORK CITY ELECTIONS

**FARRELL DOBBS**

Editor of "The Militant"



**FOR  
MAYOR  
OF  
NEW YORK**

**LOUISE SIMPSON**

Member of ILGWU



**FOR  
NEW YORK  
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FILES

100-154214-29

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

NY FILE NO. 100-25905 HJR

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12/20/45</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/18, 20, 11/2, 26, 27/45</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>CARLTON M. DILLARD</b>
TITLE <b>JAMES P. CANNON, with aliases</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP</b>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</p> <p><i>[Handwritten: Limited Circulation, Reason: Confidential, See Top Secret, Form 6-74]</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 70%;"> <p>CANNON, National Secretary of SWP, is directing his efforts towards holding the party together by discouraging unification of SWP with WP as advocated by ALBERT GOLDMAN of the Minority Faction. CANNON called a plenum of the National Committee in N.Y.C. on 10/5/45 to discuss unification. However, no statement has been issued. Subject spoke before mass meeting of SWP at Hotel Diplomat, N.Y.C. on 11/4/45 celebrating 28th anniversary of Russian Revolution. On 10/3/45 CANNON sent cable to General DE GAULLE protesting to French arrest of Indo-Chinese in Paris. Subject resides at 126 West 11th St., N.Y.C.</p> </div> </div>			
<p><b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b>  <b>DATE 2/21/96 BY SP-6 AG/KH</b></p>			
<p><b>REFERENCE:</b></p> <p>Bureau File 100-159214.          Bureau File 62-10528.          Report of Special Agent Carlton M. Dillard, New York, 8/29/45.</p>			
<p><b>DETAILS:</b></p> <p>Confidential Informant T-1 reported that CANNON has been concerned during the past six months with the influence of the Minority Faction within the party and is trying to avoid a second split in the party similar to that of 1939 and 1940. The Informant reported that all along CANNON has been opposed to unification of the WP with the SWP particularly fearing that MAX SHACHTMAN's plan was to unite the two parties and shortly thereafter, split away taking with him a larger percentage than he brought</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
<p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT:</p> <p>⑤ - Bureau            1 - Col. E.V. Constant Doff, 2SO            3 - New York</p> <p><i>[Handwritten: 2-26-46]</i></p>		<p><i>[Handwritten: 100-159214-30]</i></p> <p><b>RECORDED &amp; INDEXED</b></p> <p><i>[Handwritten: 21]</i></p>	



in.

According to the Informant, the Minority Faction has been more prominent in New York City than in any other locality in the country and CANNON is keeping GRACE CARLSON, National Committee member, as a "reserve minute woman" to be sent out on a moment's notice to counteract any influence which the Minority Faction may bring to bear on branches throughout the country. He stated that ALBERT GOLDMAN, leader of the Minority Faction, has not been favorably received by any branch outside of New York. However, the Minority Faction represents roughly ten per cent of the SWP membership.

Confidential Informant T-2 made available copies of the minutes of the SWP Political Committee reflecting that the subject was present at meetings held in New York City on April 14, July 12 and July 30, 1945. The minutes of July 12, 1945 reflected that CANNON, under the alias of WALTER, and ALBERT GOLDMAN, under the alias of MORRISON, engaged in a dispute concerning the WP and SWP unification proposal. CANNON cross-examined GOLDMAN and accused him of carrying on negotiations with members of the WP not authorized by the executive committee. When CANNON asked the question, "With whom of the WP and how many times had you discussed unification?", GOLDMAN refused to answer stating CANNON was taking the matter too far. CANNON claimed he was only trying to find out which party GOLDMAN is working for.

Confidential Informant T-1 stated that a communication from CANNON was read before the Chelsea Branch of the SWP on August 31, 1945 informing that the Political Committee had authorized a sub-committee to meet with representatives of the WP to discuss and explain the possibility of the two parties uniting. T-1 also advised that CANNON ordered a plenum of the National Committee members which was held on October 4 and 5, 1945 at 116 University Place, New York City, to consider the entire problem of unification. The Informant stated that as yet, the National Committee has not issued a statement reflecting the decision drawn by this plenum on unification.

The "Militant" dated October 20, 1945 reflected that on October 13, 1945 the subject sent a cable to General CHARLES DE GAULLE, president of the French Provisional Government, stating that the SWP strongly protested to the arrest of DR. TRAI DUO TAO and a delegation of forty-two, representing twenty-five thousand Indo-Chinese living in Paris. CANNON demanded that the Indo-Chinese be given full opportunity to present their case against imperialism to the French people and the people of the entire world.

Confidential Informant T-1 reported that CANNON spoke briefly before a mass meeting of the SWP held at the Hotel Diplomat, West 43rd

NY 100-25905

Street, New York City, on November 4, 1945, celebrating the 28th anniversary of the Russian revolution. According to the Informant, CANNON reviewed the roles of LENIN and TROTSKY in achieving the first workers' state in Russia. He also portrayed STALIN's role when he took power and how STALIN completely rejected the international character of the revolution which was theoretically expounded by MARX and ENGELS. In a very ironic manner, CANNON criticized the American Communist and the revolutionary tactics of BROWDER and FOSTER, stating that BROWDER so deviated from the path of the revolutionists that he would be willing to shake hands with the greatest capitalist of all, J. P. MORGAN.

In conclusion, CANNON urged those who still had faith in the movement to join hands with the true followers of TROTSKY and unite as members of the party.

A discreet inquiry made of the elevator operator at 126 West 11th Street, New York City, reflected that the subject is still residing at that address.

- P E N D I N G -

NY 100-25905

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NEW YORK:

At New York, New York:

Will continue to follow and report the subject's activities in the SWP.

NY 100-25905

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The following Confidential Informants were mentioned in the report of Special Agent CARLTON M. DILLARD, dated at New York on December 20, 1945:

- T-1 Operator #15, New York City Police  
Department, 400 Broome Street, New York  
City
- T-2 *Kent* [redacted] who furnished information to  
the Detroit Office which was later sub-  
mitted to the New York Office in Detroit  
letter of October 10, 1945.

The above Informants were given Temporary symbols because of the nature of the information they furnished.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK, N.Y.

NY FILE NO. 100-25905

MEG

REPORT MADE AT

NEW YORK, N.Y.

DATE WHEN MADE

7/15/46

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

5/15, 20, 21;  
6/22/46

REPORT MADE BY

JOHN F. WACKS

TITLE

JAMES PATRICK CANNON, with aliases,  
James Cook, Redwell, Karsner, Walter & Martin

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject, white, presently resides 126 West 11th Street, N.Y.C. and maintains position National Secretary of Socialist Workers Party located at 116 University Place, New York City. Subject born 2/11/90 at Rosedale, Kansas. Both subject's parents born England. Subject's wife, ROSE GREENBERG KARSNER, born 1889 in Moinești, Rumania. Both her parents born Rumania.

-P-\*

## REFERENCES:

Bureau File #100-159214  
Bureau File #62-10528  
Bureau letter to all SAC's dated March 12, 1946, series 1946, #28.  
Report of Special Agent Carlton M. Dillard, dated 12/20/45, at New York, N.Y.

## DETAILS:

At New York, N.Y.

At Local Board #16, 45 Astor Place, New York City, subject's Selective Service file was reviewed by Reporting Agent and this reflected that subject was born February 11, 1890 at Rosedale, Kansas and resides at 126 West 11th Street, New York City. This address of subject was verified on May 15, 1946. The file reflects subject is white.

On May 21, 1946, a discreet telephone call to the National Socialist Workers Party Headquarters, 116 University Place, produced the information that the subject is still National Secretary of the

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

*E. E. Conroy*

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Socialist Workers Party.

At the office of the U.S. Department of Probation for the Southern District of New York, subject's probation file #15532 reflects that subject's father, JOHN CANNON, was born in England in 1858, while his mother, ANN HACKETT, who was also born in England, is deceased. This file further reflects that the subject married his first wife, LISTA MAKENSON, in Pekin, Illinois in 1913 and at present she is deceased. According to this file, subject married a second wife, ROSE GREENBERG KARSNER, in New York in 1929.

It should be noted that Special Employee Investigator Wade Fuller made a complete check of the marriage licenses maintained at the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Manhattan, as did Special Agent WILLIAM O. McCUE in the boroughs of Queens, Brooklyn and Bronx, with negative results as to this last wedding. However, Special Employee Investigator Fuller checked marriage license #24586, Manhattan, dated September 7, 1911, which reflects the marriage of subject's present wife to DAVID FULTON KARSNER. This certificate indicated that subject's wife, ROSE GREENBERG KARSNER, was born in Moinesti, Rumania in 1889 of JOSEPH GREENBERG and YETTE SPITZER GREENBERG, both of whom were also born in Rumania. No further information was available concerning the parents of subject's wife.

The Indices of the New York Field Division were checked but failed to disclose any activity on the part of subject since the date of the last report.

- P E N D I N G - \*

NY 100-25905

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York, N.Y.

Will continue to follow and report subject's activities  
in the Socialist Workers Party.